



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-92-218
Tuesday
10 November 1992

Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-92-218

CONTENTS

10 November 1992

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

FRONT PAGE

CENTRAL AFRICA

Chad

Government, Chadian National Front Sign Accord [Njamena Radio] 2

Congo

Premier Submits Cabinet's Resignation [Libreville Radio] 2

Tanzania

Deputy Ministers, Regional Commissioners Named [Dar es Salaam Radio] 2

Zaire

'Arson' at Opposition Print Shop [Libreville Radio] 2

EAST AFRICA

Somalia

* Sahnoun Criticizes Muslims on Peace Effort [London AL-HAYAH 13 Oct] 3

* Muslim Leader Accuses Europe of Dividing Country [London AL-HAYAH 15 Oct] 3

Uganda

Museveni Congratulates Clinton on Election Win [Kampala Radio] 4

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Zulu Reaction to Mandela Invitation to King 5

Buthlezi 'Appalled' [SAPA] 5

King 'Surprised' [Johannesburg TV] 6

National Party Secretary General Resigns [SAPA] 6

Resignation Linked to Commission Report [SAPA] 6

Gwala Says Natal Federalism 'Testing Ground' [Johannesburg TV] 7

ANC Opposes Inquiry Into KwaZulu Police Killings [SAPA] 7

Ghana Issues Trade Invitation to Private Sector [SAPA] 8

10 November Review of Current Events, Issues [THE STAR 10 Nov, etc.] [SAPA] 8

* Air Force, Navy Most Affected by Reductions [BEELD 1 Oct] 10

* Navy To Close Training Base, Reduce Shipyard [BEELD 1 Oct] 11

* Air Force: No.3 Squadron Dissolved [BEELD 30 Sep] 11

* CP: People's Army To Counter NP 'Betrayal' [DIE PATRIOT 18 Sep] 11

* CP Draws Farmers Upset With Nationalists [DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN Aug/Sep] 12

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Angola

MPLA Said Preparing 'Major Offensive' [Lisbon TV] 16

UNITA Said To Begin Withdrawal From Caxito [Lisbon Radio] 16

Goulding, Anstee Leave For Meeting With Savimbi [Johannesburg Radio] 16

Bie Political, Military Situation 'Calm' [Luanda Radio] 16

UNITA's Chivukuvuku on Luanda Clashes [Maputo Radio] 16

Namibe-Based CIS Medics Ordered Back Home [Luanda Radio] 16

Savimbi Visits Buffalo Battalion in RSA 2 Nov [Luanda Radio] 17

Restoration of State Authority Urged [Luanda Radio] 17

* New Challenges Facing Single Army Formation	17
* Pre-Electoral Situation [Lisbon O JORNAL 2 Oct]	17
* Future Problems [Lisbon O INDEPENDENTE 2 Oct]	18
* UNITA's Actions [Lisbon PUBLICO 7 Oct]	19
* Recent Events [Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS 7 Oct]	20
Malawi	
Minister Discusses Referendum on Multipartyism [London International]	21
Mozambique	
UN Says Cease-Fire Timetable 'Overly Ambitious' [SAPA]	22
Quelimane Airport Navigation Instruments Stolen [Maputo Radio]	22
Government Gives Food to Renamo in Changara [Maputo Radio]	23
Manhica Donates Food [Maputo Radio]	23
Five Tons of Food Relief [Maputo Radio]	23
Swaziland	
King Mswati Congratulates U.S. President-Elect [THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND 9 Nov]	23
'Political Dinosaurs' Behind Slow Democratization [THE SWAZI OBSERVER 10 Nov]	23
Zimbabwe	
Mugabe Revives White Fears About Land [Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY 9 Nov]	24
Germany Rues Lack of Investment Protection [Johannesburg Radio]	25
WEST AFRICA	
Ghana	
Curfew Lifted in Kumasi Region [Accra Radio]	26
Liberia	
NPRA Orders NPFL Forces To Cease Fire [Gbarnga Radio]	26
ULIMO To Cease Hostilities 'Unconditionally' [Monrovia Radio]	26
'Fair Treatment' For Those Who Surrender [Monrovia Radio]	27
ECOMOG Resumes Shelling NPFL Positions [AFP]	27
ECOWAS Official on Enforcing Sanctions [London International]	27
ECOMOG Denies Use of Chemical Weapons [Monrovia Radio]	28
Official Urges U.S. To Serve as Observer [Gbarnga Radio]	28
Nigeria	
AFRC To Continue Meeting on National Issues [London International]	29
NEC Options Reduced to 2 [Lagos Radio]	29
ECOMOG Head Pledges Cease-Fire Enforcement [Lagos Radio]	29
Togo	
Two Ministers Dismissed From Cabinet [Lome Radio]	29
Eyadema Opposes Dismissal [Lome Radio]	30
Military Cooperation Agreement With France Suspended [London International]	30

Angola

UN representatives Marrack Goulding and Margaret Antsee left for Jamba for a meeting with Jonas Savimbi, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola leader, Johannesburg Radio reported on 10 November. Setting up the meeting had run into difficulties earlier on.

Lisbon Radio reported that the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola is "preparing an offensive" against UNITA to "retake" Caxito, Porto Quipili and N'Dalatando.

Congo

Following the no-confidence vote on 31 October, Prime Minister Stephane Maurice Bongho-Nouara submitted the resignation of his government to President Pascal Lissouba on 9 November, Libreville Radio reported.

Ghana

Accra Radio reported that the Ashanti Regional Administration announced the "lifting" of the curfew imposed upon the Kumasi region since the situation there had returned to "normal."

Liberia

In a statement read on Gbarnga Radio, the National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly government, NPRA, announced a "unilateral cease-fire" that went into effect at noon "today."

"Welcoming" the latest communique from the meeting of Economy Community of West African States in Abuja, the United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia, ULIMO announced that it "stands ready to unconditionally cease hostilities and allow the disarmament and encampment of all its combatants by the West African peacekeeping force ECOMOG," Monrovia Radio reported.

Malawi

In an interview with the BBC, Health Minister Pitakuti Ntaba said that the proposed referendum was to decide whether the people wanted a one party state or multipartyism. Minister Ntaba said that "the people are for one party system," and that "that will be the outcome of this referendum." However, the minister noted that should the referendum indicate otherwise, "then the laws will be changed in the country" and it will "be legal for other parties to form."

Chad**Government, Chadian National Front Sign Accord***AB0911150192 Ndjamenia Radiodiffusion Nationale Tchadienne in French 0530 GMT 9 Nov 92*

[Text] A peace agreement was signed at al-Junaynah, Sudan, on 31 October between the government and the Chadian National Front [FNT]. The government was represented by Ouaddai Prefect Malloum Mbomi, and FNT by Dr. Faris Bachar. Gamal Djaba Gomi gives the highlights of the peace agreement:

[Begin recording] The peace accord signed between the government and Faris Bachar's FNT was the outcome of many meetings held in al-Junaynah, in Sudan. It will be noted that in the wake of these meetings, FNT, which is based at Jabal Dugu, turned in its weapons. The 15-point accord provides first for the recognition of FNT as a political party; the setting up of a joint commission charged with studying the fundamentals of the FNT charter and its applicability; general amnesty; integration of all FNT men—civilian and military—into the various government agencies on the basis of their qualifications and their ranks; putting an end to the insecurity prevailing in the country, especially in the center, the east, and in the southeast of Chad; the regrouping of FNT men within a period not exceeding 45 days; facilitating the return of all Chadian refugees so that they can participate in national development.

Following this exemplary accord between Chadians, the hatchet has now been buried. FNT forces will come back home to participate in the nation building task. At the end of his visit to al-Junaynah, Ouaddai Prefect Malloum Mbomi thanked his counterpart for his constant contribution to Chad's peace efforts. He said due to the restored peace there were bright prospects for the democratic process. [end recording]

Congo**Premier Submits Cabinet's Resignation***AB0911211792 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 1830 GMT 9 Nov 92*

[Text] In Congo, Prime Minister Stephane Maurice Bongho-Nouara submitted his government's resignation today to President Pascal Lissouba following the no-confidence vote of the National Assembly on 31 October. Our source did not know when the resignation had been submitted or what the president's response was. However, this morning, the president received a delegation from the new parliamentary coalition, which includes the Congolese Labor Party—the former sole

party—and the Union for Democratic Renewal, a coalition of seven parties, as well as representatives from parties claiming to be from the presidential majority. The Congolese television in Brazzaville, which announced these developments today, added that the discussions centered on how to end the crisis.

Tanzania**Deputy Ministers, Regional Commissioners Named***EA0911110692 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania Network in Swahili 1700 GMT 8 Nov 92*

[Text] Reports reaching us just now from our newsroom say President Ali Hassan Mwinyi has appointed two deputy ministers and transferred three regional commissioners to new posts.

A statement issued in Dodoma this evening by the office of the prime minister and first vice president says the Lindi regional commissioner, Honorable Edgar Maokola Majogo, has been appointed the deputy minister in the office of the prime minister and first vice president in charge of local government. The former Kagera regional Revolutionary Party secretary, Brother Joseph Mbiliza, becomes the deputy minister of water, energy, and minerals.

The statement says the former Arusha regional commissioner, Honorable (Anatoli) Tarimo, has been transferred to Lindi region, and the Kagera regional commissioner, Dr. Ahmad Kiwanuka, has been transferred to Arusha region.

The former deputy minister of water, energy, and minerals, Hon. Ernest Nyanda, becomes the Mwanza regional commissioner, and the former Mwanza regional commissioner, Honorable Philip Mangula, has been transferred to Kagera region.

The appointments take effect immediately.

Zaire**'Arson' at Opposition Print Shop***AB0911152692 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 1230 GMT 9 Nov 92*

[Text] The Zairian opposition has suffered a hard blow. The premises of Terra Nova printing house in Kinshasa were burned down on 7 November. The FORUM newspaper, owner of the printing house, speaks of arson. Meanwhile, President Mobutu Sese Seko is currently on an official visit to Kuwait.

Somalia

*Sahnoun Criticizes Muslims on Peace Effort

93AF0074A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 13 Oct 92 p 7

[Report from Mogadishu by 'Abdallah al-Haj: "Sahnoun: Muslim Arab Absence From Somalia's Relief Is Regrettable"]

[Text] Ambassador Muhammad Sahnoun, the U.N. Secretary General's envoy to Somalia, criticized the lack of serious effort by unnamed Arab and Muslim nations in resolving the Somali crisis. He told AL-HAYAH at U.N. offices in Mogadishu that he intends to tour the Arab and Muslim countries in order to urge Arabs and Muslims to take more action for the resolution of that crisis. He added that there is no plan to divide Somalia and that he personally opposes partition.

Satisfactory Results

He mentioned that the United Nations feels that several of the Somali adversaries do not object to working for a solution to the country's problems and that "we have reached satisfactory results the most important of which was to stop the war of the militias in general." He said that the second stage of action by the world organization was to concentrate on relief efforts following the end of the civil war among the warring factions in the Unified Somali Congress.

Sahnoun berated the world community for ignoring the Somali issue, "leaving the Somali people to be victimized by internal strife. The lack of international and regional action has caused Somali society to be torn apart."

The international envoy believes that the Somali conflict has become even more complicated than the Cambodian or Afghan crises "because the country has splintered severely into too many factions, making it difficult to find a political solution." He added that his efforts to resolve the crisis seek to arrive at solutions in various regions simultaneously. "For instance, we work for a resolution to the problems in the north, northwest, northeast, and in the center of the land. We seek to establish harmony among the various parties and we sometimes find several factions even within the same party as is the case with the Unified Somali Congress in Mogadishu."

He explained that efforts to reach national reconciliation were obstructed by the opposition to the participation of the interim government headed by interim president 'Ali Mahdi Muhammad. "It was agreed, however, that the government, being a squad [party] same as all the other squads, should take part in a general national conference for reconciliation."

He pointed out that the world organization so far feels that several parties agree in principle and added that "we consider that certain conditions put forth by some parties are reasonable and we shall discuss them with the

others." He expected that the United Nations would call the national conciliation conference "very shortly."

Sahnoun expressed belief that neighboring African countries should play a major regional role in resolving the Somali problem and added that it is imperative that the League of Arab States, the Islamic Congress Organization, and the Organization of African Unity join the search for the desired solution. He pointed out that no Muslim Arab minister has visited Somalia so far and called that a "regrettable disregard" of the situation in Somalia.

Visit to Egypt

He mentioned that he will be visiting Cairo and Jiddah for talks with the secretaries general of both the League of Arab States and the Islamic Congress Organization "to point out to each of them the gravity of Arab and Muslim absence from the arena of Somali developments. It is sad that because dozens of working volunteers throughout Somalia are Europeans and Americans, the Somalis are wondering incessantly about the reasons for Muslim Arab absence." Sahnoun then commended the relief offered by both Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

* Muslim Leader Accuses Europe of Dividing Country

93AF0074B London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 15 Oct 92 p 7

[Report from Mogadishu by 'Abdallah al-Haj: "Muslim Relief Official Warns of Famine in Northern Somalia."]

[Text] A Muslim relief official warned that northern Somalia could fall in the grip of famine if the Barbara port remains closed.

Shaykh 'Abd-al-Rahman al-Sadiq al-Qa'idi, bureau chief of the Islamic World Association and the World Muslim Relief Organization in Somalia and Djibouti, made a statement to AL-HAYAH in Mogadishu in which he accused the United Nations of adopting "a suspicious plan aimed at partitioning Somalia to European countries and of implementing the partition plan by fanning the flames of dissension among Somali factions fighting for government control." He added that continued fighting serves the interests of both warring parties because Gen. Muhammad Farih 'Aydid, chairman of the Unified Somali Congress Party, and his opponent interim president 'Ali Mahdi "share all the humane and relief assistance that arrives in Somalia via the seaport and the airport, which remain under the control of armed militias maintained by the two parties."

Al-Qa'idi commended the efforts of the World Muslim Relief Organization, saying that it is the only Muslim organization that has been doing humane work in Somalia since before the state collapsed.

He added that the organization was present "on the scene in Somalia and did not leave the country after the civil war broke out as did other Muslim organizations."

He explained that "our new offices have begun intense efforts to deliver aid to those for whom it is intended even though travel is difficult in all regions of Somalia. I believe we were able to compete with Christian European organizations and we felt welcomed and accepted by all our Somali brethren. We had to prove ourselves despite continued fighting among the various factions."

He added that the organization began its operations by producing a tape recording in which a number of noted Somali 'Ulemas discuss various issues advocating brotherhood, reconciliation, and abstaining from shedding Muslim blood.

He explained that "there is no comparison between the activities of the organization and those of European agencies because our meager resources prevent us from utilizing the latest means of communications. We sometimes have to wait days for a plane in order to relay important developments to our headquarters." He added that remittances by World Muslim Relief Organization consist of Muslim alms and that "we call at this time upon Muslim benefactors to contribute funds with which we can utilize modern communications and advanced media in order to carry out our humane responsibilities in Somalia. Djibouti has granted us diplomatic status, therefore making it possible for us to purchase a Djibouti-based small plane able to deliver emergency humane relief to parts of Somalia that need urgent help. The plane also makes it possible for us to undertake field trips in order to survey pockets of famine and to deliver important supplies in a timely fashion before more deaths occur. We notice that European organizations here spend freely and without squabbling over such things as real estate rents or air and marine shipping fees, unlike our organization whose means are limited. Furthermore, they [the Europeans] select spacious offices on major streets inside or outside the capital of Mogadishu."

In answer to a question on the superiority of European organizations in delivering more substantial aid to the Somali people, Qa'idi said: "I don't believe that this is true. The United Nations announced that Somalia received 145,000 tons of food but the truth is that only 5 percent of that amount has arrived at the port of Mogadishu so far. I am pleased that we were able to cover most of Somalia in providing soup kitchens, homes for orphans and the disabled, clinics, schools, and Koran recitations in the cities of Mogadishu, Hargeysa, Burao, Boosaaso [Bender Casim], ('Abd Bilka'u)."

Dr. Muhammad Khalid Diftirdar, head of the organization's African Horn Committee said "that the World Muslim Relief Organization is attempting to safeguard Somalia against the pitfalls into which it is being driven by foreign organizations through the aid they make available."

He added: "Our mission in the Somali regions is to help them resist those things. Our operating strategy, after saving those who would otherwise die of starvation, is to salvage the thinking of adults. As for the young ones, we begin by teaching them God's word, particularly because Somalia has large numbers who have memorized the Holy Koran. I believe that the West, when it plans the downfall of a country like Somalia, always attempts to infiltrate Muslim countries. It targets a stable society and exposes it to economic tremors then political crises. This results in dislocating people who would seek help. The West then offers them conditional help, thereby breaking their resistance. This is what is happening now."

Diftirdar continued: "It is regrettable that our Muslim benefactors have so far overlooked the value of intellect. They must recognize the nature of the battle that Muslim peoples face. That battle has turned into intellectual battles and confrontations. We are focusing, therefore, on returning the people to the Holy Koran and Islamic teachings and on changing the concepts fostered in the region by hostile and imperialistic forces. One of these concepts is the tribal orientation that is at the root of all these problems. The Somalis must be aware that this orientation will lead them to destruction unless it is discarded."

Uganda

Museveni Congratulates Clinton on Election Win

EA0911172692 Kampala Radio Uganda Network
in English 1900 GMT 4 Nov 92

[Text] President Yoweri Museveni has expressed confidence that the spirit of cooperation which has characterized the cordial relations between Uganda and the United States will be maintained and strengthened even further under the United States new president, Mr. Bill Clinton.

In a message of congratulations to Mr. Clinton, who was elected the 42nd president of the United States yesterday, Mr. Museveni said: On my own behalf [and on behalf of] the government and people of Uganda, I convey to you our warm congratulations and best wishes upon your victory in election to the high office of the president of the USA. We are confident that during your term of office the spirit of cooperation which has characterized the cordial relations existing between our two countries will be maintained and strengthened even further for the mutual benefit of the people of Uganda and the USA.

Zulu Reaction to Mandela Invitation to King

Buthelezi 'Appalled'

MB1011060892 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2342 GMT 9 Nov 92

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by Office of the President of the Inkatha Freedom Party: "Press Statement: 'Mandela's Call on His Majesty the King of the Zulus To Lead Against Violence'" by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief minister of kwaZulu and president Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), Ulundi: 9th November 1992]

[Text] I and the whole of the nation are appalled at Dr. Mandela dragging His Majesty, king of the Zulus, into party political arenas by calling on him to "lead us" in a determined effort to stop the killing of all people.

Dr. Mandela should, instead, have praised His Majesty for the bold stand he has taken for peace on numerous occasions.

His Majesty has been outspoken against violence and has urged all Zulus to stop the internecine black on black violence which is tearing our society apart. His Majesty hardly ever speaks at a public meeting without calling for peace, and urging an end to internecine black on black violence.

His Majesty the king of the Zulus has been in the forefront of peace moves, as king of a people who belong to many political parties. His Majesty has actually called great imbizos [meetings], attracting tens of thousands of his subjects of different political parties, so that he could address them at mass rallies on the subject of black killing black.

In November 1989, His Majesty actually called on Mr. Walter Sisulu and other freed political prisoners to co-operate with him. I have attended meetings called by His Majesty, at which His Majesty made impassioned pleas for peace. These meetings have been held not only in Natal and kwaZulu, but they have also been held in the Transvaal.

In September 1990, His Majesty travelled to the Transvaal to appeal for an end to ethnicity as being a factor for black on black conflict. He travelled to the Transvaal with the president of the Transkei, President Ndumase, and he personally addressed public meetings in the East Rand and on the West Rand.

In 1991, His Majesty held an imbizo and at the First National Bank Stadium in Johannesburg, where he exhorted Zulu men in the Transvaal to throw down the spear in favour of negotiations as a peaceful means of settling political disputes.

I find it totally astounding that Dr. Mandela did not praise His Majesty for doing what he has done, but instead is calling on him to do what he already has done.

His Majesty, the king of the Zulus, attended the state conference on violence and intimidation May, 1991, and

spoke at the conference calling for peace. His Majesty was there with me, on the 14th September, 1991, when the National Peace Accord was signed. He has backed action for peace in no uncertain manner. I find it insulting that Dr. Mandela now calls on His Majesty to do what he has already done.

Quite clearly Dr. Mandela knows that His Majesty has taken numerous stands for peace. He knows what His Majesty has done and he could only have made his call at the funeral of Mr. Hadebe with more in mind than what His Majesty has already done.

How can His Majesty lead in conflict that the ANC [African National Congress] itself is primarily responsible for, other than leading in party political activity. Dr. Mandela knows that the ANC/SACP [South African Communist Party] alliance has sought to destroy the very existence of kwaZulu and the kwaZulu police force. In July, 1990, the ANC mounted a national campaign for the dismantling of kwaZulu and the removal of the kwaZulu police force. A national campaign was launched and people died in the campaign that Dr. Mandela led against the Zulus and His Majesty. At the very funeral, where Dr. Mandela made his call on His Majesty to lead, Mr. Harry Gwala reiterated the ANC/SACP's intention of marching on Ulundi.

Dr. Mandela knows that His Majesty has an honoured place in the kwaZulu legislative assembly. Dr. Mandela knows that His Majesty has a residence in Ulundi and Dr. Mandela knows that His Majesty has offices in the kwaZulu legislative assembly building. Marching against Ulundi is marching against His Majesty, as much as it is marching against me. I repeat, His Majesty is a constitutional monarch, and action against kwaZulu is action against His Majesty.

No one will ever succeed to drive a wedge between His Majesty and myself. I find it insulting to His Majesty that Dr. Mandela can assume that he can avoid dealing with me and dealing with His Majesty directly on the question of violence, which has political origins and which is violence between members of political organisations which he and I are leading.

A 1985 ANC strategy document states that I must be deprived of my social base because I am a counter-revolutionary. This is what is going on. If we are seriously concerned about this hideous violence, we need to have discussions between the ANC and the IFP leadership, on this.

I just want to put on record my own deep pride in being a Zulu with so noble a king as His Majesty, the king of the Zulus. His Majesty incorporates the unity of the nation in his being and he acts only for the nation. I am proud of how he acts for the nation and I am proud of his bold stand against violence, and I call on Dr. Mandela to face the realities around him and to recognise that it is duplicity for the ANC/SACP now to call on His Majesty the king of the Zulus to lead in peace, when they know that he has done just for years and also knowing that it

was the ANC/SACP alliance, which blocked His Majesty from participating in Codesa [Convention for a Democratic South Africa].

The inconsistency with which Dr. Mandela speaks is becoming quite alarming. It is also quite remarkable how the king has, with such dignity, endured the many insults and slights that has been hurled at him by spokespersons of the ANC/SACP alliance, from the highest echelons of their leadership to the lowest. The determination of the ANC/SACP alliance to exclude the king from talks that were meant to determine his future destiny and that of his nation, speaks volumes about their true feelings regarding the king of the Zulus and kingdom. This contrasts sharply with these latest appeals to the king to use his power to end the killing in Natal.

I agree with the president of the ANC that this spiral of violence calls for careful, honest and critical self-examination of ourselves as individuals and as organisations. That, indeed, applies to all of us as leaders, and to the organisations we lead.

King 'Surprised'

MB0911170392 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1600 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] The Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, has expressed his surprise at ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela's plea to involve him in the peace initiatives in Natal. In an interview with TV News, King Goodwill said he has been involved all along, and has made numerous efforts to end the violence.

[Begin Zwelithini recording] The only thing that I should say, is that I pleaded with him myself, that he must get together with the leader of IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] and sort the problems together. [end recording]

Earlier, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu expressed his support for Mr. Mandela's call on the Zulu king. Archbishop Tutu said any action to defuse the situation will be a positive contribution toward peace.

[Begin Tutu recording] And I would hope that His Majesty would use his very substantial prestige and authority in this area to help create the kind of atmosphere that would make it possible for the various kinds of meetings then to happen. [end recording]

National Party Secretary General Resigns

MB0911112692 Johannesburg SABA in English 1105 GMT 9 Nov 92

[By Pierre Claassen, political correspondent]

[Text] Cape Town November 9 SABA—The National Party secretary-general and former minister of education and training, Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe, has resigned his post and as MP for Helderkrui.

He made the announcement in a media statement saying the decision was based on personal grounds and that he needed to make a new beginning.

Dr. van der Merwe came to Parliament after resigning a professorship at Rand Afrikaans University in 1981.

Resignation Linked to Commission Report

MB0911174392 Johannesburg SABA in English 1717 GMT 9 Nov 92

[By Pierre Claassen, political correspondent]

[Text] Cape Town Nov 9 SABA—Grand apartheid closed the book on the career of yet another of its ministerial administrators on Monday [9 November] when former minister of development aid, Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe, announced his resignation from all his political posts. Although he has given only "personal reasons" for resigning as the National Party's [NP] secretary-general and as MP from December 31, his departure is seen as being as inevitable as that of his ministerial predecessor, Dr. Gerrit Viljoen, who leaves the Cabinet and Parliament a month earlier.

Both men came under fire for the long history of corruption and maladministration of the Lebowa and Gazankulu homelands revealed in the Pickard Commission report in April this year. The Pickard Commission findings brought immediate demands from opposition parties that Dr. Viljoen, Dr. van der Merwe, and the present incumbent, Mr. Jacob de Villiers, resign. Since then the public careers of both men have been steadily retreating.

The follow-up detailed investigations by the De Meyer and Parsons Commissions are due to be made public this week. Expectations are that they will reveal an even more distressing picture than the toilets-in-the-veld scenario exposed by the Pickard Commission. Dr. van der Merwe's resignation, coincidentally within hours of the expected release of the first of these reports, is seen as a clear signal their content will be too politically condemning even for the usual tenacious survival capacity of NP ministers and party officers.

Both men had special posts created for them after the storm broke in April. When the state president reshuffled his Cabinet on May 31, he created the non-portfolio post of minister of state affairs for Dr. Viljoen and the NP took on Dr. van der Merwe, dropped from the Cabinet, as its first secretary-general.

Persistent information over the expanding scope of the corruption and maladministration of the two homelands cast doubt on the political survival of the two former ministers of development aid. Although they had no personal part in the corruption, the scale, political opponents insisted, was so massive that there had been unpardonable political neglect. Their political careers had little chance of surviving full exposure.

The fact that the department was one of the main conduits for colossal spending on the seemingly bottomless pit apartheid presented the exchequer, made their neglect a political crime—particularly in the new era of President F.W. de Klerk's constitutional reform.

For Dr. Viljoen the scandal followed on other irregularities uncovered in the education portfolio of the then super-Department of Co-operation, Development and Training, which incorporated the two formerly separate Departments of Co-operation and Development and of Education and Training. This department administered virtually every aspect of black life in South Africa, having descended from the oft-renamed Bantu Administration Department which, via Plural Affairs finally came to shed some of its more obnoxious roles such as policing the pass laws and influx control.

When Dr. Viljoen succeeded Mr. Chris Heunis as minister of constitutional development in the new De Klerk regime, Dr. van der Merwe, then information minister, took over education and training from him. The subsequent scandal so tainted him politically that his position in the Cabinet was forfeit.

At the time Dr. Viljoen was believed to have survived a summary dumping only because of his stature as Afrikaner leader and intellectual who as chairman of the Broederbond [secret Afrikaner brotherhood] and as the first rector of the Randse Afrikaans Universiteit was a strong champion against the rightwing onslaught on the reformist direction taken in the P.W. Botha era. His health was said to have suffered a severe blow and last month he announced his resignation with effect from November 30.

Both men, ironically, are from the earliest reformist ranks within the NP and probably more than many of their Cabinet colleagues worked for the normalisation of politics and the demise of apartheid ideologically. However, circumstance and the potential for disaster inherent in the paternalistic nature of empowering otherwise powerless black leaders, ultimately destroyed them first.

Their resignations have now created two parliamentary vacancies in the Transvaal constituencies of Vanderbijlpark and Helderkrui which will probably be filled by appointment in terms of recently approved legislation.

Gwala Says Natal Federalism 'Testing Ground'

MB0911122392 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 0500 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] chairman in the Natal Midlands, Mr. Harry Gwala, says the fate of South Africa will be decided in Natal and the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] area.

He was speaking at the funeral in Pietermaritzburg yesterday of his assassinated deputy chairman, Mr. Reggie Hadebe. Mr. Gwala accused the government and

the Inkatha Freedom Party of using Natal as a testing ground for the concept of federalism. At an earlier memorial service for Mr. Hadebe, ANC President Nelson Mandela appealed to rival factions to set aside their differences and strive for peace.

He proposed a meeting of the Dispute Resolution Committees in Natal, saying that this could lay the basis for bilateral talks and finally a meeting of the country's political leaders.

ANC Opposes Inquiry Into KwaZulu Police Killings

MB0911132892 Johannesburg SABA in English 1006 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] Pretoria Nov 9 SABA—A request that the Goldstone committee hearing concerning attacks on the South African Police [SAP] be extended to include murders of kwaZulu Police members was submitted to the committee on Monday but opposed by counsel for the African National Congress [ANC].

Louis Visser, counsel for kwaZulu/Inkatha Freedom Party, requested in Pretoria that the committee's terms of reference be extended to include attacks on, and murders of kwaZulu Police, especially against the background of problems in Natal.

The hearing was postponed on Monday to January 12 next year and extended to two weeks.

Azar Cachalia, counsel representing the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation] (MK), opposed the request to widen the term of reference saying it would make the committee's work "too wide and messy". The ANC's preliminary view was that the committee's terms of reference be confined to attacks on the SAP.

Mr. Cachalia added that the ANC's participation in the committee depended on the nature of the allegations against the ANC and MK.

Committee Chairman Gert Steyn advised the ANC to participate in the hearing as its absence would detract from the seriousness of the business.

The request to widen the committee's terms of reference would be submitted to Mr. Justice Richard Goldstone, said Mr. Steyn.

Formal evidence concerning attacks on the SAP would be submitted on January 12.

The postponement of the hearing, which was to have started on Monday, followed mutual agreement by the parties involved—the SAP, the kwaZulu government, the IFP and the ANC.

The hearing was postponed to January 12 and set down for two weeks.

State President F.W. de Klerk in July requested the Goldstone commission to identify the persons or organisations responsible for the killings of SAP members.

Ghana Issues Trade Invitation to Private Sector

*MB0911134792 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0534 GMT 9 Nov 92*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by Verity Lloyd Communication: "Ghana Takes First Step To South African Trade"]

[Text] Ghana, one of Africa's shining stars with a 5 percent p.a. [per annum] growth rate for the past ten years, has this month issued its first trade invitation to the South African private sector.

The 4th Ghana International Trade Fair has invited SAFTO (the South African Foreign Trade Organisation) to participate.

"This is a major breakthrough," says Paul Runge, SAFTO's Africa manager who recently returned from a visit to the country. "The invitation to Ghana opens the door into west Anglophone Africa which has previously been closed to South Africa."

The trade fair held annually in Accra, the Ghanaian capital, draws 3 million visitors and will be held from 25 February to 9 March 1993. Over 400 local and foreign exhibitors are expected, from the agricultural, building and road construction industries. In addition, hotels, catering and tourism will be represented as well as mining, petroleum and consumer products.

Ghana is a favourite of the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and World Bank for its successful structural adjustment programmes. With the objective of increasing employment, the country has embarked on a speedy privatisation campaign and has liberalised the investment code, permitting a long tax holiday and repatriation of funds for foreign investors.

Ghana has a very liberal system of foreign exchange through a network of foreign exchange kiosks sanctioned by the government which encourages entrepreneurs and allows market forces to prevail in the street value of desirable foreign currencies.

Ghana recently lifted person to person sanctions on South Africa.

10 November Review of Current Events, Issues bat[THE STAR 10 Nov, etc.]

MB1011131692

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

Compromise Needed in Angola—"The collapse of the Angolan peace process has ominous implications" says the 10 November edition of the Johannesburg THE STAR in English in its lead editorial on page 14. The

paper notes that the Bicesse Accords and the subsequent elections to resolve Angola's power struggle showed that political differences cannot be resolved violently. They opened the way to the regional co-operation that holds a key to individual prosperity." It notes that with the renewal of violence, all hopes have been "dashed. Angolan peace can still be saved, provided both sides accept that they have no realistic option other than compromise." The paper concludes by saying that outside brokers "can play only a limited part in restoring peace. It is really up to the major internal parties to work out their own solution. Outsiders can help by making the parties realise the awful consequences that will result from the warmongers getting their way."

'Positive Response' From Buthelezi Urged—Commenting on ANC leader Nelson Mandela's speech at the funeral for Natal ANC leader Reggie Hadebe in its second editorial on the same page, THE STAR says Mandela used the occasion "to issue a strong call for peace and implicitly to warn fighters of the ANC's army not to descend to banditry." It views his appeal to the people of Natal "to join hands for peace" and for an "urgent meeting" of the kwaZulu-Natal regional dispute resolution committee as "a compromise" between Mandela's demand for a meeting of all National Peace Accord signatories and Buthelezi's demand for a one-on-one meeting. The paper notes that Mandela's appeal to the Zulu king "smacks of a ploy to isolate the IFP leader, for whom not a conciliatory word appears to have been found. It also notes that Mandela's "conciliatory tone" was "partially submerged" by Natal's Harry Gwala and ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba, "whose emphasis fell on 'retaliation' rather than reconciliation." THE STAR concludes: "Buthelezi should respond to Mandela's statesmanship and turn a blind eye to the politicking. A positive response will gain him new friends and consolidate old bonds."

BUSINESS DAY

Mandela Funeral Speech—"ANC president Nelson Mandela continues to follow the conciliatory, statesmanlike path" on which he embarked after the killings at Bisho, says the 10 November Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English in its lead editorial on page 8. The paper says that in his speech at Reggie Hadebe's funeral, Mandela appealed to his followers to resist the "temptation of revenge" and thus "attempted to use what authority he has to break the spiral of violence." "That his speech represents an attack on ANC hacks and a gamble with his own credibility in those circles—which are very powerful in Natal—is apparent from some of the speeches that preceded his." Natal ANC Chairman Harry Gwala restated his belief "that salvation lies in a march on Ulundi," while ANC Youth League Chairman Peter Mokaba urged the audience "to rededicate itself to war." BUSINESS DAY points out that Mandela "pointedly refrained from attacking" Inkatha and its leader Buthelezi, which it says "was arguably an attempt at conciliation rather than hostility." "Mandela's restraint was a clear invitation to Buthelezi to respond in kind." The paper notes Buthelezi saw the speech "not as an olive branch but

as a personal snub, and insult to the Zulu king and an attempt to drive a wedge between the two of them." It concludes: "If he rereads the message carefully, Buthelezi could yet salvage possibly one of the last opportunities to turn Natal around before it is too late."

Army Chief's 'Political Speeches'—"Somebody in high political authority should tell the Chief of the Army to pipe down," says BUSINESS DAY in its second editorial on the same page. "It does not matter whether his accusations are correct, although we are still waiting for some of his earlier predictions to come true. The point," it says "is that political harangues should be made by politicians, not generals." The paper says Army Chief Meiring's job is to give his information on alleged ANC arms caches and "undercover units" to "the police, the prosecutors and the politicians." "The ANC may be the political opponent of the government of the day, and an object of loathing for Meiring, but it is not the enemy of the army or the nation." It notes that "military credibility" depends on "political neutrality" but that in speech after speech "Meiring makes it clear where he stands. His political superiors, and if needs be the President himself, should muzzle this voluble general, or send him into retirement."

SOWETAN

Buthelezi, Mandela Meeting Urged—"Natal's search for peace seems destined to drag on for much longer" says the 10 November issue of the Johannesburg SOWETAN in English in its lead editorial on page 6. The paper refers to Mandela's appeal to the Zulu king to use his power "to stop the carnage" and his call for "all South Africans to be 'daily combatants for peace'." It notes that at the same time Mandela is saying this, the ANC is delaying "sanctioning a meeting between him and IFP leader Chief Gatsha Buthelezi." The appeal to the Zulu king, the paper says "seems to be a deliberate attempt to sidestep such a meeting. Predictably, Buthelezi wasted no time and yesterday slammed Mandela, accusing him of trying to drive a wedge between him and the King." At the same time SOWETAN is "not impressed with Buthelezi." It notes that he refuses to attend a meeting of National Peace Accord signatories and at other time has said he would not attend the same meeting with Mandela. The paper says Mandela and Buthelezi must "put the welfare of the country above their politicking and their personalities" and "learn to differentiate between ANC and IFP issues and those that affect the country. The carnage sweeping the country no longer leaves room for their pride or the pride of their organisations."

THE CITIZEN

Angolan Charges 'Nonsense'—Angola's charges that South Africa is assisting Dr. Jonas Savimbi, the leader of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, with supplies and troops is "nonsense," says the 9 November edition of the Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English in its page 6 editorial. The paper points out that South Africa "helped to broker" peace accords in

the two remaining conflicts of Southern Africa—Angola and Mozambique. It says South Africa "cannot benefit from the revival of either war. It needs peaceful neighbors. It needs the chance to resolve its own war in Natal without having to be involved once more in either Angola or Mozambique." It notes that Angolan Foreign Minister Pedro de Castro van Dunem "has the effrontery" to say that South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha "is not welcome to return to Angola unless he is invited to do so. It is a rather disgusting way to talk about a man who did so much for peace in Angola and Namibia, too. A man, moreover, who has tried to end the present fighting in Angola." The paper concludes that "Angola is looking for a scapegoat and South Africa is a convenient one. Let Angola sort out its own troubles with the help of the UN and Western countries. We can only lose if we get involved."

SOUTH

Violence in Natal—Writing on the latest killings in Natal in the 31 October edition of Cape Town SOUTH in English on page 6, Deputy Editor Rafiq Rohan notes that the African National Congress, ANC, blames the Inkatha Freedom Party, IFP, while the government blames the ANC and the IFP "declares its innocence and heaps blame on the ANC. Meanwhile, the innocents continue to be wiped out like flies." It says that the victims are "part of our national family and political affiliation is scant reason for merciless slaughter." SOUTH traces the situation to the "tradition of hit-squad activity passed down by apartheid governments" and says that "there should be the fibre within us all to rise above the black persons' burden—the white racist heritage—and resolve differences without spilling blood." It concludes by saying: "Ending the violence in Natal is not the problem of the people of Natal only, but of the people of South Africa, collectively."

BEELD

Clinton 'Pressure' on RSA Government Likely—In a recent article President-elect Bill Clinton has lifted the veil on what South Africa can expect when he occupies the White House," begins a page 10 editorial in the Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans on 5 November. "Mr. Clinton is in favor of the maintenance of sanctions until an interim government is in place in the country." "From the general tone of the article one can deduce that the Clinton administration will not be as balanced in its approach as the Bush administration was. It seems as if the South African Government can expect more pressure and the ANC a friendlier and more indulgent approach." "If the Clinton administration uses its influence to bring about a democratic and capitalist solution for South Africa then this approach should be welcomed, but the ANC-SACP [South African Communist Party] will have to be handled firmly. This does not, however, seem likely."

DIE BURGER

Editorial Calls For MK Disbandment—A page 14 editorial in Afrikaans in Cape Town's *DIE BURGER* on 6 November says: "Further steps announced by the government to control the violence in Natal have been sharply criticized by ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa." "For a long while now, there have been strong indications that members of the ANC's military wing [Umkhonto we Sizwe—MK; Spear of the Nation] are not only moving about freely in Transkei, but are being trained there to launch attacks in Natal." "Against this background Mr. Ramaphosa's wild accusations against government do not make sense. The reason for his fear probably arises from the possibility that the security forces will hinder the activities of the growing number of MK operatives in the area." "If the ANC is serious about bringing an end to violence then MK should be disbanded, and the power struggle with Inkatha should be suspended."

Mugabe Attempt To Forge ANC-PAC Alliance—A second editorial on the same page notes: "It is noteworthy that Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe has taken the initiative to try and forge an alliance between the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress [PAC]." "President Mugabe's open hostility towards the South African Government is well known." "An ANC-PAC alliance would be a cynical one because their principle differences are almost unbridgeable. Even though the ANC, in practice, has a majority of black members, it has adopted a nonracial policy." "The PAC, on the other hand, rejects everything associated with whites." "There would be nothing wrong if the two organizations had to reach an agreement on bringing violence to an end. The biggest problem is the violence between ANC-Inkatha supporters and urgent measures are needed to tackle the problem. President Mugabe should concentrate his energies on this aspect."

DIE AFRIKANER

De Klerk-Buthelezi Meeting Needed To Appease Zulus—"The hold that the ANC has over the De Klerk government is well illustrated by the government's initial silence when 15 members of the ANC military wing murdered 22 Zulus in Mpumalanga, southern Natal," notes a page 2 editorial in Afrikaans in the Pretoria *DIE AFRIKANER* on 4 November. "Now all government newspapers are calling for a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi. Even De Klerk is in favor of such a meeting." "However, it is his duty to maintain law and order. De Klerk should meet with Buthelezi to appease the Zulus. If he does not do this then he should held be responsible if the low intensity civil war in Natal develops into a black Bosnia-type situation."

*** Air Force, Navy Most Affected by Reductions**

93AF0113F Johannesburg *BEELD* in Afrikaans 1 Oct 92 p 1

[Article by Marga Ley, Military Correspondent: "Thousands of South African Armed Service Members Asked to Resign"]

[Text] Thousands of members of the Armed Services, from the Air Force, the Army, and even from the already drastically reduced Navy are being asked to accept their discharge papers or an early retirement package as a part of the severe reduction directives issued from the office of Derek Keys, Minister of Finance.

The traumatic decision-making processes concerning the future of Armed Forces members is under way, and figures are being kept strictly secret, presumably to hide the extent of the layoffs and not to cause general panic among the personnel.

Such urgent economic measures are necessary because Minister Keys has let it be known that the defense budget will undergo a number of further cuts during the new fiscal year.

The reductions do not affect armed forces personnel only; several units of the various divisions of the Army will probably also be disbanded or scaled down.

Counseling Centers, staffed by psychologists of the South African Medical Council (SAMC), among others, are being established everywhere by Armed Forces units in order to help people make the necessary adjustments.

It appears that the Air Force and the Navy are once more the most seriously affected, as was the case also in 1990. We understand that about 1,300 members of the Air Force are under review and some 400 of the Navy, but this figure may ultimately be much higher.

We understand, too, that the Army has planned that if colonels, commanders—and many of these were swiftly promoted during time of war—and senior non-commissioned officers leave the armed forces, less than 2,000 personnel will have to leave, but this figure may ultimately turn out to be a great deal higher. In order to save a colonel's salary, however, as many as two lower-ranked personnel will have to be laid off.

According to normal labor regulations, people who have to be let go must receive three months' notice. According to well-established civil service regulations of the Commission for Administration, people with more than 10 years of pensionable service receive a bonus and a monthly pension.

Their most recent moving expenses are also paid, they may make use of state housing for a short time after receiving their notice, and their housing subsidy will continue for at least six months.

*** Navy To Close Training Base, Reduce Shipyard**

93AF0113G Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 1 Oct 92 p 2

[Article: "Naval Base Closed, Simonstad Gets Further Cuts"]

[Text] The Navy will close the SAS Jalsena Training Base in Durban, while the Simonstad Shipyard and the South African Navy Yard near Simonstad will suffer further cuts. Some 400 personnel will also receive their discharge papers or else leave of their own choice under an early retirement offer.

Even the South African Medical Service will more than likely have to go if high-level negotiations that favor their taking over the medical duties connected with the Police and the Department of Corrective Services, are not implemented.

Vice-Admiral Robert Simpson-Anderson, Fleet Admiral, in response to questions, said that the restructuring in the Navy will hardly be on the scale of 1990. "This is only a small readjustment. We emphasize the fact that the great reduction in the Navy was already carried out in 1990."

*** Air Force: No.3 Squadron Dissolved**

93AF0113H Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans 30 Sep 92 p 4

[Article by Marga Ley, Military Correspondent: "F1 CZ Mirage Jet Fighters Are Withdrawn; Third Squadron Officially Disbanded Today; Air Force, However, Will Not Lose Its Iron Fist"]

[Text] The Armed Forces will withdraw from service the last 16 Mirage F1 CZ air-interception jet fighters, flown by pilots of the Third Squadron out of the Waterkloof Air Force Base in Pretoria, when the squadron officially disbands today.

This does not leave South Africa without an air interception capacity, however, because the Cheetah air-interception jet fighters can operate equally well in air-to-ground attacks.

The F1 CZ's will be kept in storage at the airfield of the Pietersburg Air Force Base, said Commandant Willie Hartogh, commanding officer of the Third Squadron yesterday. But this is possibly only a temporary measure, because they will perhaps be used later for an upgrading program.

This leaves the Air Force, which must make cuts like the other segments of the armed forces, with the Mirage F1 AZ jet fighter, which is intended especially for air-to-ground attacks, and the Cheetah, which can carry out either task. The fighting power of the Air Force is thus not adversely affected.

With an air show by the squadron's pilots this afternoon, the Third Squadron bids farewell to Pretoria—and to the people who were always so angry about the noise the planes made over the city.

With its dissolution, fighter planes now no longer fly over the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging Area. The Waterkloof Air Force Base thus becomes a simple air traffic base, servicing aircraft such as Hercules, Dakotas, Skymasters, and Boeings.

The dissolution of the squadron has brought great sorrow to its members. Their historical memorabilia, the pride of the squadron, will now head for the museum, and its members are being transferred to various other units, or they may also be affected by the cutbacks.

The squadron flew some 600 operational flights during the war over the border between Namibia and Angola, in which only one plane was substantially damaged. Two Russian MiG fighters were shot down at that time by pilots of the Third Squadron.

*** CP: People's Army To Counter NP 'Betrayal'**

93AF0091B Pretoria DIE PATRIOT in Afrikaans 18 Sep 92 p 8

[Unattributed article: "People's Army Is Answer to De Klerk's Treason"]

[Text] Last Saturday, the Cape CP [Conservative Party] congress meeting at Goodwood was told that Boer commandos and a people's army are the only solution to the political treason of the De Klerk government.

Speaker after speaker insisted that whites should immediately pursue the establishment of home guards in villages and cities, local guards in rural areas, and the safeguarding of business centers, "so that this might give birth to a people's army to protect the people against the future police force and armed forces dominated by the ANC [African National Congress]."

Mr. Ronnie van der Merwe stated that the spineless government is throwing in the towel against those forces of revolution.

Furthermore, through its committees and its media, and with the full support of the ANC, the government has stated that the South African Police Force consists of criminals.

The CP is saying to all the security forces: "We see how you are being sold out and put in the dock by people who undermine authority," stated Mr. Van der Merwe.

The congress also heard how the South African Armed Forces are getting ready to take 5,000 Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) [Spear of the Nation] soldiers into service before the end of the year.

Several commando members said that their South African Armed Forces commando had been instructed to

infiltrate the CP and other right-wing organizations and to consider them their enemies.

Dr. Willie Snyman, CP spokesperson for Defense, stated that there is countrywide impatience among the whites about compulsory military service, commandos, and reservists.

He said that the public is aware of the fact that the government has thrown in the towel against terrorist attacks.

Contrary to all his previous statements, Mr. Pik Botha is now calling for United Nations forces.

Dr. Snyman stated that the legal actions of the NP/ANC/SACP [National Party/African National Congress/South African Communist Party] make it more difficult for the whites to defend themselves with their police force and their armed forces.

He also warned the government that "the spirit of Afrikaner nationalism will rebel against the kind of domination currently being forced on the Afrikaners by the spineless government." dd

* CP Draws Farmers Upset With Nationalists

93AF0099A Cape Town DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN in Afrikaans Aug/Sep 92 pp 11-12, 15

[Article by Wessel Ebersohn: "'We Were Almost in the New South Africa...': The Wasted Millions of Rust der Winter"; first paragraph is DIE SUID-AFRIKAAN introduction]

[Text] The whole country was recently rocked by revelations of how hard-earned tax money was wasted by Department of Development Aid officials, among other things on unused toilets all over the veld. But that is not the end of it. The amazing story of Rust der Winter shows how power-hungry bureaucrats refuse to learn from their own mistakes.

"....There is or was a large group of officials who... effected major financial advantages for themselves and for their coworkers in ways that vary from misconduct to deception, theft, and bribery...." Judge B. de V. Pickard, Commission of Inquiry into Development Aid.

"If they had just let us be in 1986, we would have already established the new South Africa in Rust der Winter."

These are the words of Braam Viljoen, a farmer, former professor of church history at UNISA [University of South Africa], and twin brother of a former head of the Defense Force. "At that time, simple, conservative farmers were willing to accept KwaNdebele's black farmers in their midst."

Today, the white farms are deserted. The weeds are meters high; irrigation systems lie in disrepair, and the only thing left of the houses and store rooms on the farms are ruins.

Rust der Winter is the symbol of a government's ideological devotion to a policy that could never work; of a bureaucracy where political manipulation and forced resettlements became the norm; of the catastrophic consequences of ethnic resettlement, and of the one occasion in our recent history when rural white farmers and "comrades" joined forces against government authorities.

The story of Rust der Winter begins in the prewar years, when the Ndzundza tribe of the Ndebeles moved into the Moutse trust territory near Marble Hall. At that point, the area was inhabited by Pedis, and the Ndzundza king, Dawid Mabhoggo, got the Pedi captain's permission to settle at Weltevreden—an area about 25 km from the Pedis' headquarters at Dennilton.

In the early 1970's the homeland policy was well under way, but while the government's plans for nine homelands was in full swing, Mabhoggo's people held back. It was then that one Simon Skosana climbed onto his push-bike and began to ride across Transvaal in support of a separate Ndebele homeland. When Skosana approached the government with his request for a homeland, they were pleased as punch. The apartheid ideologists could not believe their luck. A black man supporting apartheid! A 10th homeland? Why not?

The Ndebeles' traditional "Heimat" had always been an area of a thousand hectares in the eastern Transvaal, where they had been subjugated by the Boers in a war more than a hundred years earlier. However, because more and more Ndebeles had begun their hard working lives on white farms, thanks to an apartheid-less piece of land on one of Mabhoggo's trust farms, the new homeland was set up around Weltevreden—between the districts of Pretoria, Groblersdal, Warmbad, and Bronkhorstspuit. This was a convenient location, near the Pretoria-Witbank industrial axis, the Loskopdam project, and a smaller irrigation project known as Rust der Winter. And just northwest of Dennilton, literally on the Pedis' doorstep, a new capital was to emerge—Siyabuswa, or "we will govern."

Of these 11 trust towns, there are now six towns with a total of 5,822 lots, of which 248 are currently occupied—this represents an occupancy percentage of four. The occupancy of one of these towns, with 1,450 lots, is now zero....

In the years since 1979, shanties have sprung up in the homeland like toadstools. "Every day six, seven, eight...even 10 trucks poured into the area with squatters," says Braam Viljoen. Desperate Ndebeles, especially those who were driven out of Winterville in Bophuthatswana by Chief Lucas Mangope, came seeking refuge in the new homeland.

After Mabhoggo opened up the area, 40 percent of the people who poured into the area were not Ndebeles. Officials were caught completely off guard by the large-scale influx of people, but nevertheless became so excited that they began to compare this "people's trek" with the

settlement of Israel. They were determined to commit all resources to making this homeland work.

An industrial farm was set up at Bronkhorstspuit, as well as an infrastructure for the 600,000 workers whom they believed would pour into the area. And when the KwaNdebele government asked for a hospital, the solution was simple: Simply incorporate Moutse into KwaNdebele—and with it the only black hospital in all of eastern Transvaal.

But Moutse was a free-lease area, and its Pedis were included in the Pedi/Sotho homeland of Lebowa. The residents dug in their heels. In an attempt to break the deadlock, officials began to think up one plan after another, so many that they later made a jigsaw puzzle out of black spots and white farms, which were to be bartered among three homelands: KwaNdebele, Lebowa, and Bophuthatswana.

Meetings were held with farmers who crowded at the windows of meeting halls filled to the rafters, but no one could understand what was going on. A few farmers with the "right connections" began to upgrade their farms, and eventually disappeared quietly with fat consolidation checks. Most of them, however, were faced with summary expropriation at low prices.

At that point, Braam Viljoen was chairman of the Pretoria district's Agricultural Union. He says, "Ben Wilkens, the then-deputy minister for cooperation and development, came to me and said that the government had decided to seize Rust der Winter. He expected me to go and sell that decision to the farmers. 'After all, we must consider the "old man,"' he argued."

In the meantime, the government was proceeding with its consolidation plans, although the farmers resisted and refused to give up their farms. The government pleaded to no avail, and finally Minister Gerrit Viljoen came to the conclusion that organized agriculture was not going to give up: "We must simply do this through thunder."

It is sometimes the case that access...to top management is extremely difficult...and that attitudes of grandeur are often responsible for this.

"We were 63 highly productive farmers in Rust der Winter," says Kobus Germishuys. "Why did we have to move?"

The farmers thought the matter out thoroughly and the vast majority—and many of them were extremely conservative—ultimately decided that they were willing to accept black farmers in their midst, as long as they could remain on their farms. A delegation of the farmers, led by Braam Viljoen, then went to Cape Town to testify before a Standing Committee.

"We made it clear to the Committee that we were willing to accept black farmers as neighbors, and that for that matter we were willing to help the black farmers with practical problems. That would be to their advantage, and we would be able to keep our farms," Braam says.

"However, Jurie Mentz, the chairman of the Standing Committee and a member of parliament for Vryheid, was immediately on his feet. 'Since when is it the Agricultural Union's policy to promote integration?' he asked. 'Do you have a mandate to do this?'"

"Yes, the farmers assured him, they had a mandate from all their members. Then a member of the farmers' delegation, Kerneels van der Walt, stood up. 'I have 10 black families on my farm,' he told the committee. 'I already have black neighbors—and I have much less trouble with them than with some of my white neighbors.'"

However, the farmers went home without much hope. The government was deeply shocked at their "talk of integration" and was clearly determined to proceed with the consolidation. Later, the farms were expropriated from the farmers against their will.

...Land transactions left much to be desired...that procedures were manipulated in order for people to gain unjustified advantages at the expense of the state.

In the meantime, plans were made to make KwaNdebele the foremost casino state in the country. With Pretoria only a half hour away, millions more were beckoned than by Sun City. The only condition was that KwaNdebele become independent, and in order to ensure that KwaNdebele become independent the paranoid Skosana government made use of a vigilante organization, Mbokhoto ("millstone"). The organization was privateered and transformed into a cultural organization. After that, Mbokhoto sowed terror and murder anywhere where there was resistance to incorporation and independence. Their favorite method was to abduct people and take them to community halls where they were forced to dance naked on the soap-smearing floor while being knocked around with pieces of a garden hose.

When the Ndebeles were indiscriminately conscripted on 31 December 1985 to attack Moutse, young people all over the homeland resisted and began to organize and form underground cells in all the squatter towns. On 12 May 1986, Ndebeles were asked to petition the king to call off independence and disband Mbokhoto.

The crowd of 30,000 that appeared at the royal residence was dispersed by the South African Police. However, the youth cells immediately went to work and almost overnight 70 percent of the stores in the homeland—all property of Mbokhoto members—were burned down and Mbokhoto itself was destroyed.

Even the police commissioner, Brig. Van Niekerk, urged officialdom to negotiate with the influential royal court—which was strongly opposed to independence—in order to thus sever the bonds between the king, the comrades, and the white farmers. However, there was already too much at stake—too many consolidation projects, as well as the construction of a new capital at a cost of 38 million rands. Minister of Development Aid Gerrit Viljoen personally issued the order to proceed

with the projects, and the Department of Development Aid proceeded zealously, consolidating here and displacing there.

However, the royal house continued to stubbornly resist independence. Hans Pienaar, the author of "Die derde oorlog teen Mapoch" [The Third War Against Mapoch], tells how the royal house finally, in a brilliant move, pulled the rug out from under the South African Government by instituting legal proceedings. They charged that the KwaNdebele government is illegitimate because women could not vote in the 1984 election, and they won the case.

Still, nothing could halt the consolidation of the homeland—which did not want to be a homeland. The government spent 80 million rands buying up Rust der Winter farms; the farmers were sent packing and the Department of Development Aid took over the farms.

Some farmers did sign contracts to rent back their farms from the department, but most of them went to seek prosperity elsewhere. Twenty-three of them resumed farming, but 15 of them dejectedly threw in the towel.

"You can never buy back what you had," says Jannie Smuts. "We settled in Rust der Winter because it was near Pretoria. We were near schools and you had no trouble getting your hands on things like parts for your farm equipment. In addition, after Marico this is the best cattle country in all of South Africa."

In the meantime, Development Aid's people had moved in and started living in Rust der Winter. Today it is said cynically that the only development since then has been the high fences that they erected around their houses. The farmhouses remained empty; machinery and equipment rusted. It is not unusual that nothing has ever been harvested there, because Development Aid has never even managed to plant anything.

It is understandable that the thousands of impoverished people living in shanties in the adjacent homeland began to look at the deserted farms with greedy eyes. For them, every piece of building material is worth its weight in gold.

"The houses were plundered," says Germishuys, "and what was Development Aid's solution to that problem? They simply demolished the houses. On one farm nine kilometers of wire fence was stolen.

"There is a law that stipulates that saton cotton must be processed, but when I arrived at the farm after a year the cotton was still standing. I could not believe my eyes when I saw the farm again. A stream of water was running uncontrolled through the orange orchard and production had fallen to less than 20 percent of what it had been."

"People do not know the story of Rust der Winter," says Braam Viljoen. "It was an experiment in state socialism, and like all experiments of that nature it was doomed to failure from the very outset." All of this for a homeland

that no one wanted and for a policy that was permanently rejected only a couple of months later.

In short, it is already obvious that: Payments are made...for incomplete work;...weak and even a total lack of administration over public assets is present.

However, the farmers were not willing to simply allow God's water to flow across God's green acre. In March 1991, they approached Judge Pickard, and a subcommittee under Dr. M. von la Chevallierie was formed to study the Rust der Winter case.

In September, two years after F.W. de Klerk changed the National Party's course, Development Aid's new minister, Jacob de Villiers, was approached. "Let us go back," the farmers pleaded with him. "After all, it is clear that Development Aid cannot do its own work. Let us bring black farmers in. Give us the chance to work the land again. Let free enterprise take over."

It was a promising visit. De Villiers was clearly impressed with their "exciting new ideas." He would get back to them within weeks, he promised. "Within weeks, not months," he said.

They also took Michael Veldman, a ministry representative, to Rust der Winter. He described the situation on the farms as "an embarrassment that should be converted into an opportunity."

That was months ago, and in the meantime the embarrassment is still waiting to be converted into an opportunity.

Danie Crous is the general manager of the South African Development Trust Corporation Ltd., responsible for managing the farms in Rust der Winter. His corporation, he says, replaced the old South African Development Trust. "That was an apartheid institution. Political realities demanded that it be replaced. We are part of the new South Africa. We are keeping the farms up until a political decision has been made. The position is that the land has been bought, but not yet incorporated. In the settlements where we go people are being asked what they want. We are doing a socioeconomic survey...."

...Primarily what emerges from this is the following: A considerable decrease in activity, production, management, and employment was discovered; there is neglect of capital goods; fields are going untillied; too many tractors have been purchased; there is doubt about the authorities' seriousness....

Even after the farms were sold, the dust would not settle. Just as the farmers continued their fight against the Department of Development Aid, the department continued its fight against the farmers. Thus, at one point Braam Viljoen learned that it had been decided during a secret meeting in a combi on the road to get rid of him. Someone who was at the meeting made a sworn statement that was submitted to Judge Pickard. At that point

he was still renting his farm back from the department, but within days after the meeting he was notified to vacate the farm.

The department seriously underestimated him, however. He initiated legal proceedings before the Pickard Commission, and in December 1991 the commission decided at a special session to discuss the cancellation of the contract. Viljoen is still on the farm today.

When Naas Minnie and Nick Els went to testify before Judge Pickard, their rental contracts were also terminated by the department. The department even refused to rent unused dry land to them.

Unfortunately, but perhaps typically, the commission has now received complaints that some of the farmers who complained about the STK [expansion not given] are now being victimized by the STK.

If there is one thing that emerges clearly from the Rust der Winter story, it is that the CP [Conservative Party] leanings among the farmers are often not based on inherent conservatism and obscurantism, but rather on anger about and resistance to the practices of the government bureaucracy. "Many conservative attitudes have an economic basis," says Braam Viljoen. "Some of the Rust der Winter farmers have been impoverished by this debacle; they are staring poverty in the face. You must forgive me if I sound cynical about the government's 'new' South Africa. We have felt the futility of their government policy first-hand."

"I would still be farming today," says Germis'uyys. "If I can, I will be a farmer again tomorrow."

But it is not only the farm economy that has been plowed under by the state bureaucracy. A recent interview with Dr. Ben Vosloo, the head of the Small Business Development Corporation, shows how deep-seated the mistrust of that bureaucracy is. "We have an engorged bureaucracy in Pretoria," Vosloo says, "with one of the highest per capital incomes in the country. When I ride around Pretoria I am shocked at the affluence of the houses inhabited by bureaucrats."

Cases of persons who, for example, stole goods or money worth 75,000, 19,000, and 12,000 rands or who appropriated it for themselves in a dishonest manner, and who are still on the job, have turned up in particular.

A comment by U.S. historian George Santayana is bitterly applicable to the KwaNdebele story of state and apartheid transgressions: "Those who forget the past are condemned to relive it."

Today, more than two years after de Klerk wrote off apartheid in his great reform speech, it is obvious how short bureaucratic memories are. Despite the entire Rust der Winter saga and the Pickard Report, it turns out that the state recently bought up 4,000 hectares of the country's most expensive farmland in Bosbokrand and Beestekraalspruit for 14 million rands—this time for incorporation into Lebowa! And chances are good that the South African Development Trust Corporation will manage those farms!

Angola**MPLA Said Preparing 'Major Offensive'**

LD0911202292 Lisbon RTP Internacional Television in Portuguese 1900 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] There are rumors that the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] is preparing a military offensive against the National Union of the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] for tonight. Live from Luanda is Antonio Lazaro. Good evening. Is there really a chance this will happen?

[Lazaro] There are reports, unconfirmed by official sources, that MiG planes and [word indistinct] have bombed UNITA positions in Caxito and Porto Quipili throughout the morning, and that tanks have already occupied the city of Caxito. We have managed to confirm that government forces are preparing a major offensive in the Cuanza North region, more precisely to retake N'Dalatando, former Salazar. This operation may take place in the next 24 hours.

UNITA Said To Begin Withdrawal From Caxito

LD0911183192 Lisbon RDP Antena 1 Radio Network in Portuguese 1800 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Excerpt] News comes from Angola that males over 16 years of age are unable to leave the country. This order from the National Directorate of Immigration and Borders is considered normal in a country preparing for war. The report came from several sources in Angola, but the national radio has said all citizens are free to travel without problems or restrictions.

In the meantime, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] has started to withdraw from its advanced positions in Caxito, a city 60 kilometers from Luanda occupied last week by UNITA forces. [passage omitted]

Goulding, Anstee Leave For Meeting With Savimbi

MB1011125692 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1100 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Text] A spokesman for the United Nations special representative in Angola has told Channel Africa that the UN under-secretary general for peace keeping, Mr. Marrack Goulding, and the UN special representative, Miss. Margaret Anstee, have left for the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] stronghold, Huambo. The spokesman said the two UN delegates would meet UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi. Earlier efforts by the UN delegation to arrange a meeting with Dr. Savimbi have failed. Mr. Goulding and Miss. Anstee are expected to return to Luanda later today.

Bie Political, Military Situation 'Calm'

MB0911154692 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1200 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Excerpt] The political and military situation in Bie Province is calm. This was reported by the provincial police commander during a public appeal made over the weekend. Superintendent Arao Sofrimento said that progress has been made as a result of meetings with the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola. He said that stern measures will be jointly taken should there be any attempt aimed at disrupting the prevailing order. [passage omitted]

UNITA's Chivukuvuku on Luanda Clashes

MB0911190092 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Report from Luanda by correspondent Rosa Inguane]

[Excerpts] Abel Chivukuvuku, secretary for foreign affairs of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], has given an account completely different from the official police version of the 31 October-2 November incidents which largely destroyed the human and material resources of Jonas Savimbi's organizations. Speaking from the military hospital where he is said to be getting first-class treatment, Chivukuvuku said that the police chased and shot at an automobile carrying a UNITA general who had abandoned the Angolan Armed Forces on 5 October. Whereas the incident took place near Hotel Turismo, UNITA soldiers returned fire thus starting the clashes.

He said that in Luanda alone, UNITA lost millions of kwanzas and thousands of dollars when the organization's installations were ransacked and destroyed. [passage omitted]

A military source has told us that all the documents seized from UNITA during the Luanda skirmishes will be produced for Angolan and foreign journalists within the next few hours. The documents unequivocally prove the direct role Abel Chivukuvuku played in the Luanda incidents. Speaking to reporters, Chivukuvuku said that he had been caught unaware by the incidents. [passage omitted]

Namibe-Based CIS Medics Ordered Back Home

MB0911082292 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] Medical services could be disrupted in Namibe Province within the next few days following orders to 16 CIS medical specialists to return to their countries.

Savimbi Visits Buffalo Battalion in RSA 2 Nov

*MB0911122592 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 9 Nov 92*

[Text] Radio Angola has learned from military sources that the notorious Buffalo Battalion is preparing for a probable deployment of its troops in Angolan territory soon, with the aim of reaching Cabinda Province from the coast. Those sources also report that Buffalo Battalion has grown more restless since Jonas Savimbi, the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] leader, visited the area where the Buffalo Battalion is stationed in Pomfret, South Africa. That visit coincided with UNITA's military moves throughout Angola, and intense clashes in Luanda, where UNITA troops were attacking Angolan Police premises, and other vital points.

The Buffalo Battalion had previously moved to northern Transvaal, to give eventual support to the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo], in Mozambique. Those sources also said that, in view of the situation in Angola, the South African bosses decided the battalion had to return to its base to direct to Angola.

Restoration of State Authority Urged

*MB0911135992 Luanda Radio Nacional Network
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 9 Nov 92*

[Station commentary]

[Text] Reports that state administration is being restored in certain parts of the country could lead to an inexact perception of the real situation on the ground. Before going any further, it is important to recall that the Bicesse Accords of May 1991 clearly establish that state authority must be extended to all parts of Angolan territory. The National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], which was obliged to allow the government to reestablish its structures in areas under its control, used various ploys to avoid fulfilling this clause. It obstructed the restoration of state authority and, even more seriously, it proceeded to occupy new areas in a clear and inadmissible attitude of openly challenging the other signatory of the accords, the observers, and the entire international community.

With its exclusive presence in many areas of the country, UNITA sought to guarantee in advance a reserve vote that it would otherwise find difficult to secure. That was the case in Jamba; in a large portion of Cuando Cubango Province; in Uige, Huila, and Zaire Provinces; and in many other parts of our vast country.

The areas that UNITA occupied in clear and flagrant violation of the principles agreed on in Bicesse also allowed it to hide, as it did, those soldiers it pretended to demobilize, the military depots with which it planned to reduce Angola to rubble, and the logistical reserves that today allow UNITA to insist on war.

Now, after perpetrating every sort of violation against the rules agreed on in Bicesse, UNITA comes forward with the idea of accepting state authority in many areas under its occupation. Obviously, it is not doing so in good faith, especially if one knows—as we do—UNITA's concept of state administration. To UNITA, it is enough for an administrator to be placed in the capital of some district and it will affirm that state administration has been restored in that area. Never mind that UNITA enjoys absolute military domination over that area.

That is not how we see the restoration of state authority. The government is not the person of the administrator alone. All the other mechanisms of governance must be reactivated, along with the administrator. Such mechanisms include: ministry branches, law and order forces, tribunals, supplies, medical care, and all the other things that allow life to return to normal. If this is not done, it will not be possible to regain respect for the Bicesse Accords.

The restoration of state administration in every part of Angolan territory is necessary and must not be delayed. The Bicesse Accords define with precision how we must act without having to discuss again anything at all.

*** New Challenges Facing Single Army Formation**

*** Pre-Electoral Situation**

*93AF0081A Lisbon O JORNAL in Portuguese 2 Oct 92
p 25*

[Text] The Angolan Armed Forces [FAA] became a reality on the 28th, a few hours before the Angolans began to vote. The celebration went off well despite certain drawbacks.

It was just past six in the evening when Salupeto Pena, member of UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], associated with the CCPM [Joint Political-Military Commission], and Fernando da Piedade Nando, representative of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] in the same organization, placed the insignias of the chief of the FAA General Staff [EMG] on the shoulders of General Antonio dos Santos Franca "Nдалu," former FAPLA [People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola], and General Arlindo Isaac Chenda Pena "Ben-Ben," formerly of the FALA [Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola].

This was the biggest indication that the new Armed Forces consider themselves united and are attempting to wipe out the resentments of many long years of war. But much is still lacking before the CCPM will be able to consider its mission accomplished.

Now no longer existent, the two armies which confronted each other in a war which lasted 17 years, are now in the process of demobilizing or integrating about 30,000 troops in the FAA and simultaneously taking an inventory of the weapons being distributed to those

troops. This task will be assigned to the chief of the Armed Forces General Staff [CEMGFA] under the supervision of UNAVEM [United Nations Angola Verification Mission] II and the CCPM until the new regime takes office.

Among its other personnel the FAA will now be made up of a number of high-ranking officers from the defunct FAPLA and FALA. A total of 13 generals originating from those two armies also took office on Monday; their specific tasks will be to support generals Ndalú and Ben-Ben.

Names well-known in war times, like Higino Carneiro, Demostenes Chilinguita, Abilio Numa, and Joao de Matos, are also participating in the formation of the FAA. The FAA already has about 10,000 troops under command, and another 10,000 are now being trained. Alberto Correia Neto, Ciel da Conceicao (Gato), Renato Campos Mateus, and Adriano Makevela are also part of the support group verifying the process involved in the extinction of the FAPLA and FALA.

The days preceding the ceremony involved in the establishment of the FAA were marked by a number of postponements in the meeting of the CCPM due to the absence of Salupeto Pena; Pena was apparently unavailable due to activities involving the electoral campaign. This meeting, which finally took place on Saturday, was particularly designed to bring Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi face to face. The meeting, which occurred Saturday night, was awaited with great expectation, since its main purpose was to make a joint declaration of the acceptance of the electoral results, thus quelling any animosity on the part of the supporters of the two parties.

* Future Problems

93AF0081B Lisbon O INDEPENDENTE in Portuguese
2 Oct 92 p 5

[Article by J.A.: "FAA Now in the Picture"]

[Text] After the extinction of the FAPLA and FALA, the hour arrived for the FAA. It will be necessary to demobilize 120,000 men who will be given training courses. There will be awards—bicycles and motorbikes—to anyone who develops weaponry. And some are even thinking about creating private companies to finish with the mine problem. It is expected that a total of 50,000 troops will be involved.

In their last face-to-face meeting before the elections, Jose Eduardo dos Santos and Jonas Savimbi gave their word as heads of state. And like gentlemen, their word was honored at the proper time. It was at CCPM headquarters that the delicate affair took place, an affair which had lasted months. And the "parturition" was particularly painful, with each of the parties carefully weighing the significance of each spoken word, each comma. For this reason, when the green light was finally given "to declare the extinction of the FAPLA and

FALA," most Angolans breathed easier. Even knowing that the extinction was purely one of formality, it was determined that there were still many rough edges to be smoothed.

It was Sunday in Luanda that the event occurred after a veritable marathon in which Portuguese diplomats and military personnel were once more obliged to participate. Whether they want to or not, they, too, are the parents of that child. The following day there was a sort of baptism in that the generals and other officers of the new FAA assumed their responsibilities.

The ceremony was invested with pomp and circumstance. But despite the satisfaction of a mission accomplished, everyone knew that the procession would end up at the church plaza. This is the case of Franca N'Dalu, respected general of the FAPLA. Together with General Ben Ben of FALA, these are the two war chiefs who comprise the leadership of the FAA general staff. A duo which will be dissolved sooner or later, since, in keeping with the election results, one of them will have to abandon his post, leaving the directorship of the new army to the general who has earned the political confidence of the party which has received the more votes.

Job for a Male

The new FAA leadership will have a hard bone on which to gnaw. The only consolation is that they will not be alone in this struggle against time. They will have a series of "support organizations to use as a cane. First of all, there are the tasks involved in forming the FAA, verification of the extinction of the FAPLA and FALA, revision of the communications and information system, and revision of the logistics sector and infrastructure. All of these organizations will be "headed up by high-ranking officers originating from FAPLA and FALA general staffs."

But the two armies were not the only ones to suffer formal extinction. The Joint Commission for the Formation of the Angolan Armed Forces (CCFA) experienced a similar fate. It is thus that its members now proceed to support the leadership of FAA's general staff. Military advisers of the CCFA and international observers of the Commission for the Verification of the Armed Forces [CVFA] will work with the FAA general-staff leadership.

There is still much work to be done and the "savoir faire" of the officers in question continues to be essential for the Angolans. This is especially due to the fact that the Portuguese turned their backs on the initial fears which arose prior to independence, placing them on the other side of the fence. Never was their participation as high as it is now; and many Angolan soldiers have no problem in advising their former Mozambican comrades to take the place of their former adversaries. They say that if the system worked well here, there is no reason why it should not work there in the proximity of Indico.

Now Things Are Getting Serious

Now that we have heard the true and formal singing of the swan song of the two Angolan armies, things are going to become serious. This conclusion, moreover, was expressed to O INDEPENDENTE by Gen. Franca N'Dalu, one of the "bosses" of the new Angolan Army.

And among the principal priorities indicated by N'Dalu is that of training. According to this former FAPLA soldier, this is a job for giants. It is going to take a lot of time and cost rivers of money. Knowing that international cooperation always has a foot in the door when it is a question of getting contributors to invest money in this sort of thing, one can imagine the headaches awaiting the new Angolan military leaders.

The question of demobilization is another item on the top of the FAA list. According to Franca N'Dalu, a total of about 120,000 troops will be demobilized. Currently, the so-called "residuals" (that is, the men to be demobilized) come to about 40,000—about 29,000 going to the FAPLA and 11,000 to FALA.

The bulk of the demobilized individuals will receive training courses financed by the EC and the UN. The others will be placed wherever jobs are available. In Franca N'Dalu's opinion, the placing of these former soldiers in civilian life is a job which may take years. "At least two to three," he says.

Private Jobs in Place of Mines

Control of the large quantity of armaments scattered throughout the four corners of the country is another hot potato awaiting the new army—a drama all the greater, since no one knows precisely the number of bazookas or "kalachnikovs" have passed into other hands. Not even N'Dalu himself, who, in order not to speak in tons, as happened in the case of a military source contacted by O INDEPENDENTE, prefers to say "there are many, truly many."

In the opinion of this prestigious general, the regime which emerges from the next election will have to take urgent measures to put an end to these uncontrollable arsenals. And he even advises measures involving a combination of suppression and enticement. Which is as someone says: The granting of special awards—in the form of motorbikes or bicycles, for example—to compensate all those who are willing to hand over their weapons on a voluntary basis. "Only thus," he maintains, "will it be possible to recover the large quantity of war materiel which is currently devoid of control."

The detonation of mines is another problem facing the FAA. Great strides were made in the defuzing of mines in the country's secondary roads. "Ever since the peace accords were signed, land mines had become one of the Angolan people's biggest problems. Such mines already existed in the Portuguese era."

In order to bring the ship to a good port, a high-ranking officer of the FAA launches an idea at random: A private

enterprise should be established to detonate the mines. That would be one way to remove a heavy load from the military's shoulders. This would be big business for private companies, since mines are plentiful in Angola, particularly the notorious and fearful "plastic" mines of South African manufacture, put in position by UNITA. The big problem is that there are no maps of many of the mine fields, especially those involving UNITA, which, as is known, played a prominent part in guerrilla warfare (a type of conflict in which concerns of this kind are almost nonexistent).

A Total of 50,000 Troops

The FAA troops are expected to number about 50,000. An exaggerated figure, in the opinion of one of the high-ranking officers contacted by O INDEPENDENTE, who believes that 30,000 would be a more realistic figure. The reason: currently, there is no danger of foreign aggression.

In fact, Mobutu no longer has room to bury the dead. The other omnipresent phantom, that of South Africa, also has its domestic problems. Moreover, if it wanted to attack Angola, it would of necessity have to pass through Namibia. And to do this, it would need a strong pretext which no one seems willing to provide.

Nevertheless, the question of the number of FAA troops can only be analyzed by the regime which emerges from the elections. When the time comes, that regime will surely heed the advice of the military advisers who believe that instead of investing in the quantity of men emphasis should be placed on the quality of life of the military. Only thus will they have the dignity to carry out the statute involved in "guaranteeing unity and national integrity," they assert. *

UNITA's Actions

93AF0081C Lisbon PUBLICO in Portuguese 7 Oct 92 p 12

[Article by Luanda correspondent Antonio Matos: "War Games"]

[Text] In abandoning the Single Army, the UNITA military indicated their willingness to follow Savimbi to the end and force the Electoral Council [CE] to suspend publishing the results. "Nothing will be the way it used to be," commented a Portuguese officer who had participated in the training of the new army. In Luanda the dollar rose at a dizzy pace.

The withdrawal of the UNITA military from the recently formed FAA, specifically that of the eight generals, surprised all observers and may have contributed to the further isolation of Jonas Savimbi and his party. UNITA believes that "this is a question among Angolans," in the words of a high-ranking leader.

In reacting to the position taken by the U.S. Administration presented yesterday by its under secretary of state for African affairs, Salupeto Pena asserted in Luanda:

"Mr. Cohen is not Angolan and it is the Angolans who will suffer if war returns to Angola." Cohen stated that the abandonment of the FAA by the former UNITA military "was a serious violation of the peace accords."

However, this position is not in opposition to previous positions taken by Jonas Savimbi wherein he expressed confidence in the fidelity of his military comrades. For example, at the end of July this party leader asserted that "the FALA branch (former UNITA army) within the FAA would not fight in Cabinda." And the political gesture of last Monday, on the other hand, would seem to indicate that the new army would be nonpartisan and its troops faithful to a new philosophy and military discipline.

Perhaps that is why the report of the abandonment of "Ben Ben" and seven other UNITA generals was received with perplexity among the Portuguese military officers who were assisting in the formation of the new FAA, together with the French and English. During the afternoon in which the press conference occurred—in which the eight officers read a declaration stipulating that their return was contingent "upon a revision or repetition of the electoral act,"—"some of them had enthusiastically taken part at a meeting in which demobilization was the principal topic of discussion." This information was revealed to PUBLICO by a Portuguese officer.

Portuguese Military Perplexed

However, the same officer made it a point to clarify that this position was political, not military. "The one who incited them to take this position is well aware of the harm he caused," said the officer. In the opinion of this Portuguese officer, "nothing is seriously jeopardized, but nothing will be like it was before."

Luanda did not appear unduly surprised by UNITA's attitude, although the JORNAL DE ANGOLA had reported it on the first page of yesterday's edition—in a shaded background—calling special attention to the abandonment of the generals in question from the Jonas Savimbi party. "FALA Is Abandoning the FAA With a Threat of War," was the headline.

Moreover, signs of normality remained unchanged in the Miramar district: Savimbi's troop formation was more or less intact. Nearly everywhere throughout the city, "ninjas" and normal police occupy strategic positions. The only indication of the people's concern was the dizzying rise in the rate of U.S. currency: from morning until afternoon the value in the exchange of dollars rose from 2,200 kwanzas to 3,600 in less than six hours.

"We do not want to return to a state of war...but, to avoid the worst, the Armed Forces on the side of UNITA in the FAA demand that three conditions be met," said Gen. Arlindo Pena "Ben Ben", chief of the FAA EMG, in speaking to the journalists Monday evening; Gen. Antonio dos Santos Franca 'N'Dalu', was sharing the position of chief of the FAA EMG with "Ben Ben" and had taken office just eight days prior to the same ceremony held for "Ben Ben." The conditions imposed

were: revision or annulment of the electoral act, the interruption of electoral scrutiny, and the recognition of "ninjas" or individuals who went around intimidating voters on election day.

As for the second condition, the National Electoral Council (CNE) seems to have answered that yesterday. At 1500 hours its president, Caetano de Sousa, explained to the journalists: "Temporary scrutiny (that is, the counting of ballots) will now be interrupted precisely when 10 percent of the returns have been accumulated; at this time the job of counting the overall votes will begin in earnest."

As for the revision or annulment of the electoral act, Savimbi and UNITA are increasingly isolated—an exception is made to the support being received from the coalition of the AD [Democratic Alliance], the PDA [Angolan Democratic Party], and the two "quicongos" allies, Mfulumpinga Victor and Andre Kilandamoko. And even within Jonas Savimbi's party, the opinions are not unanimous: "Savimbi is being influenced by those who again want war," complained to PUBLICO a pre-eminent military officer.

Military analysts estimate that only about 3,000 FALA troops remain as a part of the UNITA Army and these have already been integrated into the FAA. Between 25,000 and 30,000 troops from this army, eliminated at the same time as the FAPLA, of the MPLA, on the eve of the elections, were assembled in 22 cantonment areas scattered throughout the country, the objective being their demobilization.

UNITA will have no difficulty in mobilizing and rearming them again, according to the same analysts quoted by Reuter. Meanwhile, Savimbi has an undetermined number of armed men at his disposal. In keeping with the Bicesse accords, both parties are mutually authorized to guarantee the armed security of the respective leaders, the high-ranking officers, and innumerable political structures, up to and including the level of the district committee.

* Recent Events

93AF0081D Lisbon *DIARIO DE NOTICIAS* in Portuguese 7 Oct 92 p 11

[Article by Luanda correspondent Ferreira Fernandes: "Angola and Its Armed Forces Divided in Half"]

[Excerpt] General Pedro Neto was perplexed about the cake with its sky-blue colors. Saturday night the number one man of the Angolan Air Force General Staff [EMFAA] had arranged a party at which he had invited a number of guests; the main course was to be broiled goat and the party was being held at the Quinaxixe plaza.

He wanted to arrange this dinner for his fellow officers, coming from the MPLA and UNITA contingents. When

it was time to cut the cake, he was pleased to see the faces of those who had come from the former People's Air Force of Angola [FAPA] (MPLA) and even its former commander, General Roberto Monteiro. But no one came from UNITA.

On Monday, at the general headquarters of the new FAA, the UNITA officers apologized for their absence for this or that reason and especially for having lost their way at a Luanda with which they were not very well acquainted.

Only General Peregrino Wambu, head of the Jamba Intelligence Services, was candid: "The situation prevailing on that Saturday was not one conducive to socializing," he said to one of his comrades-in-arms. In fact, this morning Jonas Savimbi had given a war conference, as you know: not to the National Election Council [NEC], not for the verification of the results of international instances, not in keeping with the electoral process...

Mysteries Versus Errors

Savimbi's message answered the most serious point involved in these elections: How would the one who lost react? Badly—asserted the UNITA leader. The second strongest point or mystery was to know if the violent position taken by Jonas Savimbi would be echoed among his followers.

The UNITA officers who received their stars as generals of the FAA precisely eight days ago—among them Gen. Ben Ben who together with Gen. N'Dalu (former FAPLA) is head of the FAA General Staff—gave the answer Monday evening.

They held a press conference and said they were accompanying Jonas Savimbi: "The electoral process was a big hoax and would have to be repeated." And they concluded in the most radical manner a military officer could adopt: They were abandoning the FAA.

The cement which this expected to be—they were the new Armed Forces and not just the sum of the other two—showed itself bound by the former UNITA generals (and, in the last analysis, the current UNITA generals) in issuing the following communique to the press: "Declaration on the part of FALA in the FAA." In the end, FAA was no more than two sides to the situation...

Ben Ben and his followers proceeded to don civilian clothes. A total of 5,000 troops followed his example. The declaration caught his FAA partners—those who had come from the FAPLA—completely unaware. Some of these, just with the telephone calls which the journalists had made to them, were informed of the defection of their comrades-in-arms...

Yesterday, in the CCPM, the organization charged with verifying the peace accord's, a Portuguese officer who

preferred to remain anonymous took the following optimistic approach: "This is not the first time that I have seen officers break the chain of command; we had this occur in Portugal in 1975 and we survived."

Hard Attitude of the Americans

Herman Cohen, U.S. deputy secretary of state for African affairs, was not very receptive regarding UNITA's attitude: "The U.S. Government is concerned over the fact that UNITA has abandoned the new Angolan National Army (which is) a violation of the peace accords," he said in an interview with the new Portuguese television station, SIC [expansion not given].

Cohen emphasized his further alienation from his former ally: "All the information that I have indicates that the elections were fair." The reaction was not slow in coming. Salupeta Pena, UNITA's man in the CCPM, added to the anger: "Mr. Cohen is not an Angolan; if war should erupt, it is not he who would suffer."

The communique was read in the presence of all the former FALA generals who are in the FAA, with the exception of General Abilio Camalata "Numa." Before the morning is over, he is scheduled to preside at the ceremony involved in placing the insignias on the shoulders of the new navy officers.

The government television station showed him placing the insignia on a captain-of-sea-and-war. The title which appeared on the television screen said: Captain-of-sea-and-land.

It might have been a simple blunder, but the truth is that it tends to indicate, from an intelligence standpoint, that the MPLA has revealed its true posture, contrary to that of its adversary: "war" is not only a word but an anathema to the followers of Jose Eduardo dos Santos.

Malawi

Minister Discusses Referendum on Multipartyism

MB1011104492 London BBC World Service in English
0330 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Telephone interview with Health Minister Pitakuti Ntaba in Blantyre on 9 November by BBC reporter Susan Wilson on the "Network Africa" program; first paragraph is studio introduction—recorded]

[Text] Later today there will be a special meeting in Malawi to discuss a bill to set up the mechanics to put the promised referendum on multipartyism into action. The plan is to ask the people of Malawi to choose between the present one party state or a multiparty future. Although opposition groups are not legally recognized at the moment in Malawi, they do already operate as pressure groups. There have been reports though that the ruling Malawi Congress Party, the MCP, has issued a statement banning the main Malawian pro-democracy group, the Alliance for Democracy, otherwise known as

Aford. But Aford claims that the banning makes the forthcoming referendum a mockery. So, Susan Wilson spoke to government minister, Dr. Ntuba, on the line to Blantyre last night, and asked him first of all to clarify the statement on the banning.

[Ntuba] We were just simply reminding the Alliance for Democracy that, as of now, they are still operating in this country illegally. They call it a pressure group, but when they try to register and give their objectives and aim, they end up describing the objectives and aims of a political party. They are also going about breaking the law because they were having their members going about soliciting funds from the public.

[Wilson] In effect, you are saying that the party does not legally exist?

[Ntuba] Alliance for Democracy as a political party does not exist, and I don't think they would claim that themselves either because they know the law. They have said they want to operate within the law, they cannot say they want to operate as a political party. They are saying they want to operate as a pressure group, but what the pressure group is they cannot convince the legal authority, that is, none other than a disguised political party.

[Wilson] Earlier this year, Dr. Banda announced that there would be a referendum in Malawi.

[Ntuba] That is correct, but the referendum is still coming on. We are working on the preparations for the national referendum, that is true.

[Wilson] What type of preparations are you talking about?

[Ntuba] For instance, Parliament is meeting to debate and pass a bill that would enable this country to carry out the referendum, because there was no legal or no constitutional provision for it.

[Wilson] So, if the results of the referendum show that the people of Malawi favor multiparty system, will organizations like the Alliance for Democracy, the United Democratic Front, and other opposition movements then be allowed to exist legally?

[Ntuba] We are saying that we want to do what the people ask for in this country. We are saying the people are for one party system, and that is what we are saying will be the outcome of this referendum.

[Wilson] But if the people of Malawi do vote in favor of a multiparty system, these organizations, these opposition movements will then be allowed to carry out their functions, and be able to exist as a legal opposition movement?

[Ntuba] What will happen is that, if the people were to vote for multiparty, which we don't believe they will, but if they were to do that, then the laws will be changed in the country. It will then become legal for other parties to form. But similarly if the vote is against the multiparty as

we believe the case will be, we also hope these other parties will uphold that and work together for the development of the country, and respect the people's verdict.

Mozambique

UN Says Cease-Fire Timetable 'Overly Ambitious'

MB0911145892 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1431 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] Harare Nov 9 SAPA—United Nations peace monitors in Mozambique are redrafting a ceasefire timetable to end 16 years of civil war because the schedule drawn up last month in Rome has proved overly ambitious and almost every stage of disengagement is lagging, Zimbabwe's ZIANA news agency reported on Monday [9 November]. "We are working on a new timetable that will be more realistic and more viable," the UN's special representative in Maputo, Aldo Ajello, said at the weekend.

Mr Ajello's statement apparently confirmed speculation that Zimbabwean troops in Mozambique, due to be completely withdrawn by November 15, will remain in place beyond that date. According to the Rome Accord all Mozambican troops and Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] rebels were supposed to have been confined to barracks and assembly points by October 20 this year. However, the rebels and the Mozambican Army have not yet started to disengage and the UN is still working out assembly points.

According to the operational timetable for the ceasefire, an estimated 3,500 Zimbabwean troops and a contingent of Malawian soldiers guarding strategic installations in Mozambique should have begun withdrawing on October 20 to be out by November 15. Zimbabwe has started removing its heavy equipment, but even this procedure is far behind schedule.

Quelimane Airport Navigation Instruments Stolen

MB0911122292 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] Quelimane Airport's air navigation instruments have been inoperative for the last six months. Unknown persons have stolen three fundamental parts, and a detection aerial from a system technically known as VOR [very-high-frequency omnidirectional radio range], which is used by aircraft to locate and approach the landing strip.

The VOR had been set up some two years ago within the framework of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference [SADCC] projects. Quelimane Airport authorities believe it will be difficult to replace the stolen parts because of the cost, and technical difficulties.

Aircraft landing at Quelimane Airport are now forced to tune into Radio Mozambique's signal whenever visibility is poor.

Government Gives Food to Renamo in Changara

MB0911133092 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Excerpt] The Mozambican Government authorities and nongovernmental organizations [NGO] have been supplying food to Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] troops and to people living in Renamo-controlled areas. World Vision, an NGO operating in Tete Province within the framework of the Emergency and Development Program, gave free food to the people of the Renamo-controlled (Nhacamba) area of Tete Province's Changara District. More than 28 metric tons of corn flour, 3.4 metric tons of beans, and 1 metric ton and 128 liters [as heard] of cooking oil were distributed among the people. [passage omitted]

Manhica Donates Food

MB0911134492 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] Maputo Province's Manhica district government has given some 4 metric tons of foodstuffs to Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] elements. Those foodstuffs, which included corn, beans, and cooking oil, were given after Renamo elements in Calanga area had sent a letter to the chief of the 3 de Fevereiro administrative area.

Five Tons of Food Relief

MB0911134592 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Excerpt] Two weeks ago, the Department for the Prevention and Control of Natural Disasters gave some 5 metric tons of various foodstuffs to Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] elements at the so-called Marracuene base, in Maputo Province. [passage omitted]

Swaziland

King Mswati Congratulates U.S. President-Elect

MB0911084392 Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 9 Nov 92 p 24

[Report by Gordon Mbuli: "King Praises Clinton"]

[Text] His Majesty King Mswati III has joined world leaders in congratulating the United States of America's President-elect, Bill Clinton.

The King's message which was sent through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reads: "I take great pleasure, on behalf of Her Majesty the Indlovukazi [Queen Mother] and the entire Swazi nation and on my behalf in extending our

warmest congratulations on your success during the recent presidential elections in the United States of America.

"Please accept, Mr Clinton, my best wishes for your personal well-being and the continued progress of your great country."

'Political Dinosaurs' Behind Slow Democratization

MB1011080292 Mbabane THE SWAZI OBSERVER in English 10 Nov 92 pp 1, 3

[By Albert Masango: "Political Dinosaurs Fought Off Change"]

[Text] Political dinosaurs with their own personal and private agendas, were responsible for the slow democratization process in the Kingdom for fear that any democratic processes would sweep them aside.

The leadership of Swaziland as embodied in the monarchy have been aware of the political winds of change and have since independence in 1968 attempted to accommodate change while at the same time protecting national unity by introducing grassroot-based participatory democracy.

This assertion was made by a member of the Tinkhundla [Traditional Community Councils] Review Commission (TRC), Mr Sam Mkhombe, at a briefing of foreign ambassadors based in the Kingdom, on the findings of the Commission. The briefing was held at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs yesterday.

Mr Mkhombe said however, owing to some outdated traditional institutions and the hijacking of the political processes by some unscrupulous and greedy politicians, the experiment was moribund.

He added that the road to democracy has not always been smooth in this Kingdom.

"True, unlike in many African states, there has been no bloodshed resulting from political differences, yet there has been suffering resulting from unmitigated detentions and lengthy and fruitless political trials.

"The world impetus for democracy and a transparent and accountable government has also been felt in Swaziland," Mr Mkhombe emphasised.

He said it was with this background in mind that His Majesty, King Mswati III, decided to consult his people in order to determine a safe way towards the establishment of a true democracy and the creation of a transparent and accountable government.

Mr Mkhombe further told diplomats that having analyzed and crystallized the concerns and recommendations of the people, the Commission reported to His Majesty in July this year and among other things the people called for were:

- the creation and adoption of a written constitution. This constitution must entrench the monarchy, basic human rights, freedom of the press, independent judiciary and the rule of law and certain of Swazi traditions;
- protection of the choice of the individual at general election. This would be achieved through the reintroduction of a secret ballot and a national political platform based on the principle of one man one vote.
- entrenchment and safeguard of national unity by vesting executive power in the monarchy. The people also recommended that the reintroduction of political parties should be delayed.

He said the people believed that it was possible for them, as one nation, to form a national unity government without allowing themselves to be divided into political parties.

They want a government of the people by the people for the people and not the government of a political party by political party members and for party members, he said.

- Finally, the people also called for the scrapping off of all repressive legislation including the notorious 60 days detention without trial order, the tribunal order and the Land Decree of 1988.

After the briefing, the American Ambassador, Mr Stephen Rogers, asked as to when the 60-day Detention Order was going to be scrapped from the country's statutes.

Mr Mkhombe who was accompanied by Mr Mathendele Dlamini, replied that it was hoped that the law would be scrapped before the election, but could not give specific time.

The Mozambican Ambassador, Mr Antonio Sumbana, asked the committee as to how the government was going to address the problem of some people who were threatening to boycott elections under the newly reviewed Tinkhundla system of government.

Mr Sumbana said during the two Tinkhundla Review Committees, some people did not want to participate in giving their opinions on how the system could be improved.

Mr Mkhombe said the authority was trying its level best by talking to the people concerned.

He cited an example of a recent meeting between the Prime Minister, Mr Obed Dlamini and a delegation of the People's United Democratic Movement (PUDEMO).

He said the meeting was one in a series to be held in future which would iron out some misunderstanding in some people's minds opposed to the reviewed Tinkhundla system of government.

Zimbabwe

Mugabe Revives White Fears About Land

MB0911143092 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English 9 Nov 92 p 2

[Report by Michael Hartnack: "Mugabe Revives Fears of Land Redistribution"]

[Text] Harare—With planting about to begin in the wake of the calamitous drought, President Robert Mugabe has revived the anxieties of Zimbabwe's 4,500 white farmers about their future, with a renewed attack on "former oppressors."

Mugabe's bitter speech at the graveside of a veteran nationalist at the weekend came after four months of reviving optimism in the commercial farming sector following the replacement of the doctrinaire Agriculture Minister Witness Mangwende by a noted pragmatist, Kumbirai Kangai.

Kangai revoked a clutch of farm takeovers planned by Mangwende and pledged new ones would only be made in consultation with the Commercial Farmers' Union.

However, when he spoke at Heroes' Acre on Saturday [7 November] at the burial of Lameck Chikanga, Mugabe attacked unnamed "government bureaucrats," accusing them of delaying the redistribution of white-owned land to blacks.

In 1990 Mugabe caused uproar in legal and commercial circles by declaring his intention to expropriate the six-million hectare "maize and tobacco belt," stretching north and east of Harare, for one-sixth its market value.

Speaking in the Shona vernacular at Heroes' Acre, Mugabe said: "Without land we will never get control of our economy. Land must go to the people first. That is the basis of economic power.

"(We) should not shy away from former oppressors nor feel embarrassed to grab land which was the basis of the liberation struggle, even if it meant being criticised abroad," he said.

Britain is among major international aid donors to freeze multimillion-rand assistance for peasant resettlement since Mugabe revoked the principle of "willing buyer-willing seller."

Farming sources predict that with long-awaited summer rains about to break, planting of essential food crops on commercial farms may be inadequate due to declining confidence in the industry, shortage of imported inputs and delays in the provision of essential finance.

Mugabe has promised free "crop packs" for each of the estimated 1-million peasant families to plant two hectares. However, his officials have contradicted him saying only seed for half a hectare will be available—and some consignments may be late in distribution.

Zimbabwe has imported over 2-million tonnes of maize and other food crops to avert the threat of famine caused by the worst drought in a century. In 1991 a mountainous strategic food reserve was flattened due to bureaucratic bungling.

Germany Rues Lack of Investment Protection

MB0911165392 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1100 GMT 9 Nov 92

[From the "Channel Africa Report"]

[Text] The German Government is becoming increasingly agitated with the Zimbabwe Mugabe administration's hesitancy to sign an investment protection agreement with Bonn. The agreement would effectively give Germany an absolute guarantee that funds invested in Zimbabwe will not be (?wasted) by the country's socialist program. Trevor Grundy reports:

[Begin Grundy recording] The German ambassador to Zimbabwe is Dr. Werner Killian. Several times in recent months this diplomat has expressed his annoyance that Zimbabwe is slow in signing an investment protection agreement with Bonn. German sources say that several potential investors look favorably at Zimbabwe and its potential in the manufacturing industry in Southern Africa, but Germans want guarantees which will give them, effectively, 100-percent guarantees that their money won't be taken away from them in case of socialist-type nationalization programs.

Financial sources say that if the Zimbabweans do agree to such an agreement with the Germans, they will have to do the same thing with every other country. And why not? That appears to be the usual reaction from industrialists and businessmen in this country. A year ago President Robert Mugabe went to Germany and gave clear signs that upon his return home the agreement would be signed, but next to nothing happened. Recently, the minister of industry and commerce, Christopher Ushewokunze, returned to Harare after a trip to Stuttgart. He told reporters that there might be forward movement on the investment issue soon.

Zimbabwe has a favorable balance of trade with Germany. Its main exports include gold, nickel, tobacco, fresh fruit, and clothing, and the Germans sell to this country industrial goods, mining and agricultural equipment, as well as heavy vehicles and pharmaceuticals. In the meantime businessmen are preparing to travel to France next month to attend the third donors conference since the government launched its five-year economic structural adjustment program or ESAP.

At the last two meetings in Paris held in March 1991 and February 1992, donors pledged over \$5 billion towards the World Bank-supported reform program, which requires total foreign funding of nearly \$18 billion up to 1995. A spokesman for the World Bank here in Harare hinted the donors' meeting in France, which the bank is chairing, would review the progress made so far in implementing ESAP, and the financial requirements for next year. A comprehensive report on Zimbabwe's reform program is being prepared and will be presented at the Paris meeting for discussion. [end recording]

Ghana

Curfew Lifted in Kumasi Region

AB0911210692 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation
Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] The Ashanti Regional Administration has lifted the curfew which was imposed on the Kumasi metropolitan area last week. A statement issued by the administration noted that the situation in the metropolis has returned to normal, hence the lifting of the curfew.

Liberia

NPRA Orders NPFL Forces To Cease Fire

AB1011104092 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English
0805 GMT 10 Nov 92

[National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly Government statement on unilateral cease-fire read by Defense Minister Tom Woewiyu; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] Today, Liberia balances precariously on the brink of disaster. The question is whether we can fall back in time to avoid the fall into the abyss. The cries of anguish of the Liberian people impel us to put aside our differences and our suspicions and make one last Herculean attempt to bring peace to our troubled country.

With the cooperation and goodwill of all of us, we can find a solution. This is not the time of finger pointing or blame. Rather it is a time for all Liberians to make a leap of hope. Each of us must be willing to go the last mile. The Government of the National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly [NPRA] is prepared to give up power and take the chance in the name of peace.

Our government, therefore, takes today's occasion to reaffirm its solemn pledge to this people of this great country about its commitment to the peace process. The NPRA has and continues to maintain that genuine peace in this country can only be achieved through the democratic process.

We are resolute in our belief that the lasting peace yearned for by us and our countrymen, can and will be achieved through dialogue between and among Liberians and by way of the ballot box through the holding of internationally supervised free and fair elections. We do not believe that peace can ever come to our beloved motherland when some regional military dictators attempt to impose their will on the Liberian people.

We recognize that some ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] nations have acted in the spirit of brotherhood to help us end our civil war and we are very grateful.

Accordingly, at the reiteration of our position that a military solution to the Liberian civil war is not desirable, and we must win the peace in Liberia, the Government of the National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly is, once more, declaring a unilateral cease-fire effective Tuesday November 10, 1992 at 1200 GMT.

I repeat, the Government of the National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly is once more declaring a unilateral cease-fire effective Tuesday, November 10 1992 at 1200 GMT.

We make this magnanimous gesture in the hope that reason will prevail and peace lovers everywhere will join us to encourage the United Nations to accept the proposals for the demilitarization of Liberia and the holding of free and fair elections submitted by former United States President Jimmy Carter who has, at least, cared enough to travel throughout Liberia and assessed the situation objectively.

During this period, we look forward to the coming of the United Nations monitoring group and other neutral African forces who accept to establish conformity by all parties involved. We also expect to see during this period the withdrawal of Nigerian troops and the removal of artillery pieces, aircrafts, and all Nigerian naval vessels from the sovereign territorial waters of Liberia.

Our call for a cease-fire must not be misconstrued as a breakdown of our resolve to defend our sacred heritage as Liberia is not the tool of others' blind ambition.

On behalf of the president of Republic of Liberia and the commander in chief of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL], His Excellency Major Charles Gankay Taylor, I congratulate the special forces commandos, the Army, the Navy, the strike force, the citizens' defense force, and all patriotic Liberians for their gallantry in the defense of the sovereignty of our people and country.

All NPFL forces are, hereby, ordered to cease fire today Tuesday the 10th of November at 12 o'clock pm and remain wherever they are (?in defensive positions). Thank you.

ULIMO To Cease Hostilities 'Unconditionally'

AB1011104592 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English
0900 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Text] The United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia, ULIMO, says it welcomes the latest communique issued by West African leaders in Abuja, Nigeria, which called for the immediate cessation of hostilities in Liberia. THE NEWS newspaper yesterday quoted the ULIMO deputy field commander for coordination, Mr. Sherif, as saying: The community provides the best framework for the restoration of normalcy in Liberia. ULIMO says it stands ready to unconditionally cease hostilities and allow the disarmament and encampment of all its combatants by the West African peacekeeping

force ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group].

ECOWAS leaders met at a one-day minisummit in Abuja over the weekend and agreed to impose sanctions on the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] for its failure to implement the Yamoussoukro IV Peace Accord which mandates ECOMOG to take over the security of Liberia and encamp and disarm all warring factions for the holding of free and fair internationally supervised elections in the country.

'Fair Treatment' For Those Who Surrender

*AB1011105092 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English
0900 GMT 10 Nov 92*

[Text] The West African peacekeeping force ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] says that any fighter or any group of fighters who will like to surrender to the force are free to do so without any precondition. In a release issued in Monrovia on Monday [9 November], ECOMOG gave the assurance of fair treatment, in consonance of the Geneva Convention on Law of War. ECOMOG noted that so far, no ex-fighter who was either captured in combat or voluntarily surrendered had been roughly treated.

The peacekeeping force is advising all fighters to indicate their (?sign) of surrender by flying white flags on their weapons or fly individual white flags and move confidently forward to ECOMOG troops. ECOMOG is further assuring all fighters that they will be treated with all known conventional process of handling war prisoners.

ECOMOG Resumes Shelling NPFL Positions

AB0911135892 Paris AFP in French 1056 GMT 9 Nov 92

[By Alain Bommenel]

[Text] Monrovia, 9 Nov (AFP)—Monrovia inhabitants, who have been besieged for the past 25 days by Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia [NPFL], have welcomed with much skepticism the new cease-fire appeal made in Abuja (Nigeria) on 7 November following the minisummit of the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS]. This cease-fire, if respected by the warring factions, should in principle come into force at midnight on 10 November.

"Charles Taylor has never respected any agreement. Why would he do it now when his rebels are close to Monrovia," an ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] officer asked. On the basis of the same view, most Monrovia inhabitants do not believe that the "NPFL" rebels will be prepared to respect the cease-fire. Rather, they have continued to rely on ECOMOG to launch a ground operation that would repulse the besiegers far away from the capital.

As if to remind one of the reality of the war, shooting in the surrounding districts east of the capital resumed at

dawn today after a relatively calm weekend. For two hours, ECOMOG artillery and a Nigerian-owned Alpha-jet launched continuous attacks on NPFL positions. According to experts, these bombings—shells and rockets—and air raids in the outskirts of the capital, seem geared towards undermining the resistance and morale of Taylor's men.

On 7 November, a group of about 100 guerrillas, most of whom were tired looking teenagers, had planned to surrender and had negotiated for a few minutes with an apparently surprised ECOMOG officer. Some reporters witnessed the scene from a distance.

According to this officer, one of the fighters said his colleagues and he were tired, adding: "You have planes while we only have kalashnikovs; it is not fair." However, the group returned to its position after these discussions. According to statements by the various sides involved in the conflict, it would only take a decision by the NPFL for the cease-fire to be implemented.

The United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia, the armed faction opposing the NPFL and which has been fighting alongside ECOMOG, has indeed stated that its men will lay down their weapons as soon as the Taylor fighters do the same.

ECOWAS Official on Enforcing Sanctions

*AB0911214292 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 9 Nov*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The West African economic community, ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States], says it wants the United Nations to impose sanctions against Liberia's warring factions following last weekend's summit in Abuja. Eight ECOWAS heads of state attended the meeting, which also called for a cease-fire to come into force in Liberia from midnight tomorrow. It comes at a time when ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] forces have been beefed up to fight the offensive by Charles Taylor's NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] rebels. But, it is not the first time this year that ECOMOG has announced their intention to impose sanctions. Last time, they never materialized. On the line to Lagos, Josephine Hazely asked ECOWAS executive secretary Abass Bundu why he thought sanctions would work this time:

[Begin recording] [Bundu] Success in this area would entail at least two issues. First of all, having the capacity to enforce the decision is one, and that I believe we do have through the instrumentality of ECOMOG. ECOMOG can do this by land, through the land forces, by sea, through the Navy, and by air, through the aerial surveillance of various parts of Liberia. This time round, we do believe we have the capability. Now, the second equally essential element is to wield the political will of those who impose the sanctions as well as the rest of the international community to ensure that the sanctions work.

[Hazely] Mr. Taylor has said he does not want a lot of the present members of ECOMOG to stay in Liberia, he wants a lot of them out.

[Bundu] I would venture to suggest that Mr. Taylor in his heart of hearts knows and recognizes that ECOMOG is truly a neutral force, although he dare not admit that in public. Now, in order to enhance the trust and confidence which Mr. Taylor believes he still needs, this time round again, heads of state have made a special appeal to those member countries in whom the NPFL are shown to have confidence to come forward and contribute troops to ECOMOG so that the question of fearing that ECOMOG is biased in favor in this party or against that party will dissipate once and for all. When all member states are there, and there is no doubt that Taylor does have confidence in some of them, then they could watch to see the actions of ECOWAS in order to remove any element of doubt.

[Hazely] And, are you giving an undertaking that the people whom Mr. Taylor has confidence in, for example, Burkina Faso and Ivory Coast will really contribute to the ECOMOG force?

[Bundu] Well, it is not for me, my dear lady, to give that kind of assurance or to express confidence on that score. What I do know however, [is that] this decision was taken unanimously at the meeting in Abuja on Saturday [7 November], at a meeting where those countries that you have just named were represented at the highest level. So, I am hopeful that it will receive due consideration in those capitals.

[Hazely] Well, after all has been said and done, if, in the final analysis Mr. Taylor does not uphold the cease-fire and he keeps on advancing into Monrovia, will ECOMOG keep on pushing him back? Will the war continue or will you pull out?

[Bundu] Well, first of all, in that kind of scenario, I would expect you to address a question to Mr. Taylor, namely, why is he afraid of democratic elections in his own country? He claims to control over 90 percent of the territory of Liberia. Now, let him now demonstrate that he also controls the hearts and minds of those who dwell in that 90 percent of the territory that he controls. But, to answer your question more directly, ECOMOG enjoyed relatively good relations with Mr. Taylor for a period of over two years. And, that relationship would have continued but for the fact that he aggressed ECOMOG on the 15th of October and has not relented things. Because of that act of aggression, ECOMOG had no alternative but to defend itself. And, it has been pursuing its self-defensive posture since that date. And, of course, in Abuja, heads of state have now recognized that right of ECOMOG to defend itself and to do so decisively. [end recording]

ECOMOG Denies Use of Chemical Weapons

AB0911120692 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English
0900 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] The ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] headquarters in Monrovia has dismissed as false claim by the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] that the peacekeeping force is using chemical weapons in efforts to repel and contain any NPFL attacks on Monrovia. An ECOMOG release issued in Monrovia over the weekend pointed out that countries contributing troops to ECOMOG have no chemical weapons in their arsenal, and I quote: The West African peacekeeping force does not have any chemical weapons.

According to the release, ECOMOG as a subregional force (?respects) international conventions prohibiting the use of chemical weapons in any military operation. The [words indistinct] says it is concerned about the NPFL's claim because experience has shown the NPFL's willingness to (?make) deliberate false allegations whenever it is [word indistinct] intention. ECOMOG (?will) believe that this major false allegation must be a [words indistinct] Charles Taylor (?is acquiring) or has already acquired chemical weapons [words indistinct] to use them against hundreds and thousands of citizens, (?foreigners, and the) ECOMOG. Mr. Taylor has started his military attacks on Monrovia.

The peacekeeping force is therefore urging the NPFL to again reconsider the consequences of its action [words indistinct] allowing reason to prevail. ECOMOG is also urging people supplying Mr. Taylor to reconsider their actions (?as) their efforts have only enabled Mr. Taylor to continue to unleash destruction and death on the Liberian people.

Official Urges U.S. To Serve as Observer

AB0911095492 Gbarnga Radio ELBC in English
0700 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] Grand Bassa County representative to the NPRA [National Patriotic Reconstruction Assembly], Mr. Augustus Junior, says it unfortunate for the United States to make judgment in Liberia based on mere propaganda from IGNU [Interim Government of National Unity] and ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS] Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] about the situation in the country.

Mr. Junior said the U.S. Government has failed to realize that Liberians have a constitutional power to be put into practice the objective of the popular people's uprising. [sentence as heard] He said the only thing the U.S. must do now is to serve as observer in the Liberian conflict. Mr. Junior also condemned West African leaders for accepting an invitation from Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida for a meeting on Liberia when, he, Babangida had previously refused to come to the call of the ECOWAS chairman.

He told the U.S. Government that Liberians will respect the constitutional rights to defend sovereignty of the nation. He recommended that ECOMOG troops be withdrawn from Liberia and replaced by UN observers to monitor the situation in Liberia and the U.S. redefine her role towards Liberia, and that President Taylor be given a chance to organize general and presidential elections in Liberia.

Nigeria

AFRC To Continue Meeting on National Issues

AB0911184592 *London BBC World Service in English*
1705 GMT 9 Dec 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Nigeria's military rulers will be meeting again for a second day tomorrow to review their program for transition to civilian rule. The program was originally due to end in January next year. The timetable has been [words indistinct] by the electoral malpractices which marred the presidential primary elections whose results the government had to scrap. And it looks as if the military may feel forced to stay longer than planned. From Abuja, Sola Odufa reports:

[Begin recording] Today's meeting of the AFRC [Armed Forces Ruling Council] presided over by President Ibrahim Babangida is deciding on a new system of democratic elections and a new timetable for an end to nine years of military rule. The AFRC had originally fixed December 5 for the presidential election, and the 2d of January for handing over to the new civilian leader. But the fiasco which attended the September primaries is now said to have made the date unrealistic for an orderly transition. Popular opinion here is that an extension of military rule by not more than six months may be generally acceptable, although there is a vocal and growing opposition to any extension.

The AFRC will base its decision on a comprehensive report, submitted to the president last week by the National Electoral Commission. The commission recommended the scrapping of the queue voting system to be replaced by a modified version of the secret ballot system and it also gave the AFRC the advantages and disadvantages of each of eight methods of choosing the two political parties' presidential candidates. The AFRC is still in session. [end recording]

NEC Options Reduced to 2

AB0911221892 *Lagos Radio Nigeria Network*
in English 2100 GMT 9 Nov 92

[Text] The Armed Forces Ruling Council [AFRC] has narrowed down to two the eight options recommended by the National Electoral Commission, NEC, in the selection of presidential candidates for the two political parties. A member of the Council, Major General Tunji Olurin, who addressed State House correspondents this

evening in Abuja, did not specify what the options were. He said that NEC had been directed to work out a time frame for the implementation of each of the two options and report back to AFRC tomorrow.

Gen. Olurin emphasized that the AFRC had resolved that the next civilian president must be democratically elected. The Council reconvenes tomorrow to consider the NEC report on the two options.

ECOMOG Head Pledges Cease-Fire Enforcement

AB1011132092 *Lagos Radio Nigeria Network*
in English 0600 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Text] The international community has been advised to disregard the propaganda which the Liberian rebel leader, Charles Taylor, has been spreading through foreign media. The advice was given yesterday in Abuja by the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] field commander, Major General Tunji Olurin. He remarked that Charles Taylor had been shouting genocide because of the successful military assault on his positions by ECOMOG forces. Gen. Olurin described ECOMOG as a highly disciplined and professional force sent to Liberia to save the people from the slaughter machine of Taylor.

The ECOMOG field commander said it had become necessary for countries supporting Charles Taylor to join ECOMOG so that they would seal the empty propaganda of the rebel leader. Gen. Olurin expressed happiness that ECOWAS leaders have given the force the mandate to deal decisively with any further attacks by Charles Taylor's rebel troops.

The ECOMOG field commander, Maj. Gen. Tunji Olurin says as long as the peacekeeping force remains in Liberia, Charles Taylor will never seize power. Addressing newsmen yesterday in Abuja, Maj. Gen. Olurin pledged that ECOMOG would enforce a cease-fire as directed by ECOWAS leaders.

He warned that the force could attack any positions from where Charles Taylor launched his offensives on the peacekeeping group. Gen. Olurin said ECOMOG had the military expertise to contain a guerrilla warfare. He gave the assurance that ECOMOG had completely secured Monrovia and that there was no cause for alarm.

Togo

Two Ministers Dismissed From Cabinet

AB1011093392 *Lome Radio Lome in French* 1900
GMT 9 Nov 92

[Decrees issued by Prime Minister Joseph Kokou Koffigoh in Lome on 9 November, terminating appointments of territorial administration and communication ministers]

[Text] Under Decree No. 92227PMT and No. 92228 signed today by the prime minister, as of 9 November 1992, the appointments of the minister of territorial administration and security and the minister of communication and culture have been terminated. The above-mentioned decrees are mainly based on the nonmodified Article 44 of 23 August 1991, Act No. 7, of the Sovereign National Conference relating to the attributes of public authorities during the democratic transition period in Togo. Indeed, the second paragraph of this Article 44 of Act No 7 provides that the prime minister may replace a minister if necessary.

Issued in Lome on 9 November.

[Signed] The prime minister.

Eyadema Opposes Dismissal

AB1011100092 Lome Radio Lome in French 0600 GMT 10 Nov 92

[Excerpts] We now know the outcome of the meeting between President Eyadema and Prime Minister Kofifoh at the Palace of the Presidency of the Republic in Lome yesterday morning. The prime minister has signed two decrees dismissing the minister of territorial administration and security and the minister of communication and culture, as of 9 November. [passage omitted on referent item]

The president of the Republic, however, has reacted to that decision by the prime minister. He believes that the prime minister flagrantly violated the provisions of Act 7 of the sovereign national conference on the composition of the government of the Republic. The head of state stated that in conformity with Article 34 of the Act 7 in question, decrees on appointment of Cabinet ministers are jointly signed by the president of the Republic and the prime minister. He said no provision of Act 7 authorizes the prime minister to dismiss Cabinet ministers upon his sole initiative and signature. The president of the Republic believes that the prime minister's decrees are unconstitutional and renews his confidence in the two ministers and is therefore maintaining them at their posts.

Military Cooperation Agreement With France Suspended

AB1011103092 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 9 Nov 92

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The Togolese Army has been given a rap on the knuckles by the French Government, which has decided to suspend the military cooperation agreement between the two countries. The Army are already unpopular with many Togolese because of their lukewarm attitude towards the transition to multiparty elections, which has been dogged by incidents of violence. On the French Government's move, Ebow Godwin telexed this report from Lome:

[Begin studio announcer recording] Sources close to the French Cooperation Mission in Lome said that the decision to withdraw the troops was a protest against persistent military intervention in Togo's democratic process. The sources cited in particular the recent storming of the parliament house and the subsequent hostage-taking of legislators. As a result, about 64 French military advisers on attachment with the Togo Armed Forces are understood to have received orders from the French Government to stay away from work with immediate effect until the situation improves. There has been no reaction yet from Togo's military high command on the decision. Togo's military cooperation agreement with France has lasted over a decade, so the latest rupture is viewed by observers here as a rather bad omen.

Meanwhile, the opposition have been flexing their muscles. The collective opposition, led by Mr. Edem Kodjo, held a mammoth march in Lome over the weekend to protest against the recent hostage-taking by soldiers and they issued an ultimatum to President Eyadema. In their ultimatum, the Togo opposition collective made four demands which they expect President Eyadema to comply with. The list of demands read by Mr. Antoine Foli, leader of the PDS [expansion unknown], include the need to reconstitute the transition government and the creation of a special peace-keeping force made up of 3,000 soldiers, to help protect the democratic process in Togo.

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

12 Nov 1992

